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ABSTRACT

The conference papers included in this monograph discuss topics related to early childhood education. Two keynote addresses by Brian Sutton-Smith are presented along with five sectional presentations by other speakers. The first keynote address, concerning the nature of children's stories: (1) argues that adults use stories to indoctrinate children, and not to encourage children to express themselves; (2) provides examples of stories invented by children; (3) points out characteristics of children's stories; and (4) differentiates four levels of children's story construction. The second keynote address examines some currently available, widely contrasting views of play and games. Play is discussed in terms of its idealization as freedom, as creativity and imagination, as mastery, and as collaboration. Games are discussed in terms of the idealization and malediction of games, games as irrational, as deceptive, and as physical contest. Relevant applications of each of the above discussions to the play of early childhood are considered. Sectional presentations concern stages of artistic development during early childhood (James H. Brutger), holistic wellness for teachers (Frank Guldbrandsen), health education for preschoolers (Georgia L. Keeney), ways adults can help abused children (Kay Stevens), and ways of strengthening stepfamilies (Janine A. Watts). (RH)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

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THE CHILD'S VIEWS OF THE WORLD: STORIES AND PLAY

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THE CHILD'S VIEWS OF THE WORLD: STORIES AND PLAY

September 27-28, 1985
Duluth, Minnesota

EDITED BY: JEANE SWORD, Ed.D.
DEPARTMENT OF CHILD AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, DULUTH
DULUTH, MINNESOTA 55812

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The University of Minnesota, Duluth, offers an interdisciplinary Early Child Care and Development Curriculum in both undergraduate and graduate studies designed to prepare early childhood personnel for a variety of positions. The programs are offered through the Department of Child and Family Development, but administered by an interdisciplinary Advisory Council from the departments of Allied Clinical Health, Psychology and Mental Health, and Child and Family Development.

The Advisory Council, in cooperation with the Department of Continuing Education and Extension of the University of Minnesota, Duluth, sponsors an annual conference in Early Childhood Education (0-8 years) and related areas of study. The conference is purposely scheduled to take advantage of the beautiful fall season and to avoid travel difficulties due to inclement weather. However, as part of a larger global community, we are also directly affected by weather conditions in other parts of the United States. Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith, our distinguished guest speaker for the 1985 conference, telephoned the morning of the conference to say that because of the worst hurricane of the century, no flights were arriving or departing from the Philadelphia airport.

Dr. Harlan Hanson from the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, graciously consented to present the keynote address on Friday night. Sectional meetings were rescheduled to accommodate Dr. Sutton-Smith's arrival on Saturday afternoon, at which time he presented both speeches for which he had been scheduled previously. This monograph includes those two keynote addresses presented by Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith as well as representative sectional presentations by other speakers.

Gratitude is expressed to the Advisory Council of the Early Child Care and Development Programs for serving on conference committees; to all program speakers and participants; to staff members of Continuing Education and Extension; to the Printing and Graphic Arts Department of the University of Minnesota, Duluth; and to everyone who contributed to the success of this Fifth Annual Conference on Early Childhood Education.

Jeane Sword
Duluth Minnesota

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INTRODUCTION OF THE KEY NOTE SPEAKER: Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith
by Jeane Sword, Coordinator
Early Child Care and Development Programs

Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith is a native of New Zealand. He received his baccalaureate and master's degrees in developmental psychology from Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, and his Ph.D in developmental psychology from the University of New Zealand.

At present, Dr. Sutton-Smith is a professor in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, where he serves as chairperson of the program in Human Learning and Development. Surprisingly, he is also a professor of folklore in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences where he teaches children's folklore.

In these areas, Dr. Sutton-Smith's major research efforts have been directed toward many different aspects of child development, including social development, sibling relationships, games and sports. He is an internationally known expert on children's play and folklore of children in various parts of the world.

His consultantships are many and far-reaching: They range from *Redbook Magazine* and *Sports Illustrated* to the CBS Captain Kangaroo; from County Day School to Head Start programs in various parts of the United States. His varied areas of expertise have led to his being a presenter, lecturer, and visiting professor at an astonishing number of universities and conferences in both the United States and abroad: he has spoken in almost every state of the union and, in addition, in many places abroad—in such countries as Australia, Fiji, England, Germany, and Belgium, besides New Zealand, of course. He has written prolifically in many national and international journals and is author, co-author, or editor of over 20 books and 200 articles. He has received many special awards and honors and has served as president of the Association of the Anthropological Study of Play and the president of the Division of Psychology and Art of the American Psychological Association.

WHY WE WON'T LISTEN TO CHILDREN'S STORIES

Brian Sutton-Smith, University of Pennsylvania
Fifth Annual Conference on Early Childhood Education
University of Minnesota, Duluth, September 27-28, 1985
The Child's View of the World: Stories and Play

Let me begin with a story so that you can sense immediately what the problem is. This one was told by a four year old in my New York story taking project reported on in *The Folkstories of Children*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

#1
Once there was a big ferocious dragon
The dragon was ferocious enough to jump on buildings and burn them without burning them
And after he burned them without burning them he would step on the building and the building would break in two
This is what would happen (He shows the bottom of his shoe)
Yucky old yucky yucky candy
Then after the yucky old yucky candy got on the buildings the dragon went poop on the buildings
And then the poop splatted
And then the father that lived in the building went on the to the roof and he got his shoes all yucky
And then he came in and then he washed his shoes off in the bath
And after he washed his shoes off in the bath the poop went down the toilet
The next time he took a bath he put his head under the faucet
He took a shampoo and after all the dump splatted in his eyes
Little drips of dump went down little holes in his eyes
And after the dump went down his eyes he dies
And that's the end.

After hearing this you are probably quite clear why you won't listen to children's stories, even if you had not thought about it beforehand. Let me proceed now to refine your objection by analysing your sources of potential resistance. I will at the same time, of course, be telling you what you came to hear which is "What do children's stories mean?"

Early Stories Are High On Sounds Rather Than Sense

In general children do not begin to tell clear fictional narratives until between two and three years of age. The texts of these stories is indicated by the following examples; the first two from my own middle class (2-3) white collection and 4-7 from the working class black Piedmont, Carolina collection of Shirley Health (Sutton-Smith & Heath, 1981). All the children are between the ages of two and three years. Although there are important differences between the stories, for example, 2-3 are more impersonal and 4-7 are more personal, both sets of the stories are characterized by prosodic elements which are relatively rare in the stories of older school age children. Thus there is much repetition of words and sounds, alliteration, rhyme, consonance, assonance, line readings, story telling intonation patterns (not shown here) and metaphor. As we have said elsewhere these may be termed verse stories rather than plot stories (1981).

New York Sample

#2
The cookie was in my nose
The cookie went on the fireman's hat
The fireman's hat went on the bucket
The cookie went on the carousel
The cookie went on the puzzle
The cookie went on the doggie

#3
The monkeys
They went up sky
They fall down
Choo choo train in the sky
The train fell down in the sky
I fell down in the sky in the water
I got on my boat and my legs hurt
Daddy fall down in the sky.

South Carolina Sample

#4
Way
Far
It's a church bell
Ringing
singin'
you hear it
I hear it
Far
Now.

#5
Up (pointing high up)
Way up dere
All time up
Tony
Chugie got it (potato chips)
All up dere.

#6
Tessie May come
Come round here
Come dum
Da-dum, Da-dum
Da-dum.

#7
Track
Can't go to do track
To dat train track
Big rain on de track
Tony down by de track
Mama git' im
Track
Train track
He come back.

The question to be asked is why early stories have this verse character. Given that the two samples are so strikingly different, we may assume that the tendency for the very young to feature the prosodic in their stories is quite widespread. It is, for example, also characteristic of children's crib speech (Weir, 1962; Kuczaj, 1983) and is emphasized by Kirschenblatt-Gimblett as the major characteristic of young children's verbal play that they emphasize the phonological over the syntactic and semantic elements of speech (1976). However we do not seem to find an adequate explanation for the development of such stories in the highly repetitive scaffolding of questions and answers by the parent that is featured in the classic study of Ninio and Bruner (1975) in which they describe the way in which an infant gradually acquires the ability to make the correct responses to a picture book. Nor in our own study of a two year old child did we find any simple template relationship between the parent's activities and the ultimate fictional product by the child (Magee & Sutton-Smith, 1983). In fact, the child's most characteristic response to our story telling was a playful enactive and noisy transformation of the material at hand, whether it was a story read, a story told, a picture book or a personal reminiscence (Sutton-Smith, 1984). It was not that the child was not tuned into the different character of different adult delivered texts (which accounted for 60% of the variance) nor the parents' interaction (40% of the variance), it was just that the ultimate story told by the child was as different from what she was hearing as are chilren's early grammars different from adult speech, or children's own play different from their play with adults (Bretherton, 1984). It is this transformation of the adult cultural tradition into the child tradition that must be explained if we are to understand children's early stories.

The simplest explanation has to be that what children are doing is putting on a story telling performance and what they understand of this performance is that it has a certain quality of sound and certain qualities of structure and certain qualities of meaning (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Their own phological development in the first two years is light years ahead of their syntactic and semantic development. They have been practicing and playing with the sounds of language assiduously in those years, as they will practice with its syntax and semantics assiduously between two and four years. For them the melody of speech precedes its meaning. In addition to the children's own ear for phonology and perhaps because of that adults also tend to increase the importance of the phonic elements in their own early communications with the young. They raise their pitch, use throaty base switches, exaggerate sounds, whisper, make rich and dramatic changes in intensity, put more stress on words and syllables, use rhythm and syncopations, slow their speech, use dramatic crescendoes and decrescendoes and longer pauses (Stern, 1977, pp. 15-17). These are the characteristics of "motherese" but also of the face and action

games that parents play with their infant children where incongruity, laughter and euphoria is even more pronounced. Here the sounding goes along with exaggerated behaviors, dramatic contrasts in faces, incongruous faces, postures and iconic sounds centered around dramatic anticipations and climaxes as in knee games, and folk games (This Little Piggy, Peek-a-boo). Perhaps we should call all of this "playese" (Sutton-Smith, 1985). In addition, through play with children, parents are introducing them to the theatric quadralogue of director, audience, actor and counteractor (Sutton-Smith, 1979), with the parent playing most of the parts in the beginning and the children gradually taking these over for themselves, a process which can be traced in children's own play a year or two later (Bretherton, 1984).

Those Who Begin With Sound Rather Than Sense Go On To Nonsense

Whether or not you react negatively to the focus on sounding rather than sensible meaning in the very young, you cannot help being aware at some level that older children proceed from this to their relish of nonsense in general. Let's take, for example, Cathy, who for about a year told us reasonably sensible tales like the first one below, (#8), but then subsequently, taking advantage of our indulgence, told the parody of nonsense in the second tale below (#9).

#8

Batman went away from his mommy
Mommy said "come back, come back"
He was lost and his mommy can't find him
He ran like that (demonstrates) to home
He eat muffins
And he sat on his mommy's lap
He fell to sleep
And then him wake up
And it was still nighttime
And his mommy said "go back to bed"
And him did
And then he wake up again
And then the mommy told him to go back to bed
And he did all night
And then it morning time
And his mommy picked him up
And then him have a rest
He ran very hard away from his mommy like that
I finished.

#9

Now there was a pa ka
Boon, goo
And there was dog doo doo
And he didn't like dog doo doo
Then there was a man named Snowball
And he didn't like snow
Cha cha
Doo choo
Cha cha
Doo choo
I named dog doo doo
Christopher say
Dog doo doo
Then there were a boy name Taw taw
O
Too too
Then there was a Captain Blooper he had a book and he was very bad and it hurt him
Then there was a blooper pa pa
Pa pa
There was Superman coming and he hurt both of him knees
Then they were flying and they went right in the ocean and he got bite from a shark
And he didn't like when he got bite from a shark
Then kla kla toe toe
Tee tah
Caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw caw
Now say pah pah kla klee
Sa see
Too tee

Chee chaw
Ta klu
Kli klu
Kla kla
Klu fu
Klee kla
Koo koo
Say say
Klee klee
Klip kla
Klee klee
Klip kla
She she
Fik ahh
Tungoo nah
Ka pa
Popeye the sailor man

Bad guy him be very bad to him
And I spit out a words.

Clearly Cathy is not now using sound to tell a story because that is the only way she knows how; she is using sound for its own sake. It has become its own nonsense genre. We often found that our school age children would only tell us a story if we would first let them tell us some nonsense. By school age, sounding and nonsense had become a distinct branch of folklore. One of our tale tellers of seven years of age for example, interspersed his story with a piece of rhyme as follows. The larger story was in fact partly an elaboration of this rhyme.

#10
Little Willie with a shout
Plucked his sister's eyeballs out
Stepped on them to make them pop!
"Really Willie," Ma said, "Now stop."
Little Willie mean as hell
Pushed his sister down the well
While the father went for water
He said, "Gee it's hard to raise a daughter";

Little Willie found some dynamite
Stunned as heck
Curiosity never pays
It rained Willie 7 days

Little Willie fell down the elevator
They didn't find him 'til 6 months later.
When they found him
All the neighbors shouted and said
"What a spoiled brat that Willie is."

(Sutton-Smith & Abrams, 1978).

One could well see some adults resisting listening to young children's relatively innocent sounding stories because of their apprehension that thereby they would be encouraging later nonsense. They might argue that they had enough disciplinary problems with children's verbal play without giving them any encouragement.

Early Stories Have Highly Repetitive And Vectorial Structure

Apart from our dis-ease with sound, young children do not structure their stories as we do, which is another source of unfamiliarity to us. With sound as their skill, and adult theatric or playful performance as their model, two year olds launch their early stories which are high on prosody and on maintaining the performance flow of the telling. Thus they use whatever line building techniques are available, as in the earlier examples, where a repetition of word or sound is a major building technique along with a certain intonative declamatoriness that the story requires involving any of the above "motherese" or "playese" textual flourishes that help it along (age 2-7). All of this is done, of course, with considerable sacrifice of information as the Scollon's have shown in their own accounts of a two year old (1981). What seems to you and me as somewhat bare on meaning is nevertheless always fairly told from the point of view of pauses, and rising and falling intonations. The story has a prosodic gestalt, a line structure (its syntax) even if its semantics are somewhat remote from adult understanding. this dominance of performance and textual qualities over text is usually baffling to adults who are used to looking beyond the first two in order to grasp the meaning. As well as a line structure the stories also have a *theme and variation* like structure, which is typical of most childhood expressions whether in story, drawing, clay, or language. Thus we see analogous thematic activity in drawing in "primordial circles", in clay "snakes", in language and in soft toys as so-called "pivot grammars" or "transitional objects". As an aside one might argue that the apparent egocentricity of childhood, the Piagetian centrations, are used in these expressive worlds of drawing, clay, language and toys as a preliminary kind of objectification. But the centration (or theme) is here in the expressive world located in the central objectified action of a toy, a drawing or a story act or story character. In these terms "theme and variation" is a primordial principle of expression for subject object relationships just as it has been held to be in the history of art (Gombrich, 1979). Still the child is as much involved with affect here as with ideas, which makes the term theme and variation perhaps too pallid for our need. We might perhaps speak of vectors and their variations in order to imply the motivation that children have for being concerned with falling or bumping or being on the train track. If we ask what kinds of vectors one finds in these stories they are usually (at least

the oft repeated ones) drawn from the child's own vivid experiences. What is repeated over and over in the stories are such phenomena as "falling down", "being bumped", "being on the track", phenomena that we can assume the young children find disequilibrating in their everyday life; the dangerous, the violent and the depriving (Ames, 1966). In our own longitudinal case, (Magee and Sutton-Smith, 1983) the child, when she finally told a story, injected the theme of biting someone, a real act for which she had often been scolded and had often enacted in her play, and not metaphorized as a cat biting a bird, which was not, however, a story she had been told.

In the above example of the "falling down" (#3), we also notice how the power of falling down is metaphorized as a choo choo train falling out of the sky. Our vectors around which these repetitive theme and variation prosodic stories are told then are undoubtedly metaphors derived from prior vivid experience. In the stories they are not unlike the enactive metaphors of play which may well be their source (Vebrugge, 1979).

In sum, we see that what we have called verse stories do indeed have their own miniature plot. They center on certain climaxes in the child's life. They make the climax the center of the story without the usual ingredients of beginning, middle and ending. Disequilibrating events are everything. These events are repeated endlessly in theme and variation form, line after line. But in presenting this central meaning and structuring it as a syntax of repetition, vector and variation, the child embodies it all in a prosody of performance, the way she or he has heard others indulge in the expressive life of play or reading. Except in the child's case it is the prosody which is foreground and the syntax and semantics which are in the background, at least relative to adult versions of such performances.

It is true that those very young children have scant control over the information that you or I would like to hear and know nothing about introductions, explorations and orientations to the listener as they proceed (Tripp and Kernam, 1977). Instead they seem to be carried along by the poetic power of their own vectorial performance.

Early Stories Are Often Quite Idiosyncratic

In addition to finding early story structure somewhat unintelligible in adult terms, many early stories are quite variable in their manner of expression. Just as young children learn and express language in variable ways, not all proceeding along the same pathway, so it is with stories. This has been best illustrated for me by the work of Ellen Brooks (1981) who studied the narratives of a group of mentally retarded children over a one year period. Their mental ages were about four through seven years. They constantly mixed together personal narratives (about the real events of their own life) with fictional narratives (about characters in stories). More interestingly they seem to get hooked onto the markers with which we conventionally begin and end stories, such as: "Once upon a time", and "They lived happily ever after". The latter was probably a result of the teaching technique which involved not only being told stories, but also listening to them on innumerable audio and video recordings.

Orientations
"This story called about Cinderella
Pictures by Jimmy
Pictures by Paddy
Once upon a time there was a little girl called Cinderella
Once upon a time there was a nice girl called Cinderella
By Timmy
The end."

Personal Fiction
Once upon a time
I go kill robbers
And I kill them
And I put them in jail
And I put them in the truck
I kill the bad robber
I kill the bees
And I went to the dentist yesterday
My name is Jimmy.
1979

Borrowed Plot in Major Variation
Once upon a time there was three dogs
Baby dog, middle sized dog and great big Daddy Dog.

They got to live in the cold cold winter
So they went for a walk.
And Goldilocks came
And sing a song
"I'm going to eat the dog food
Oh I'm going to eat the dog food today
la la la la la"
And she ate the dog food.
Mmmm that tasted yucky
Mmmmm . . . . . that tastes soggy
Mmmmm . . . . . that tastes too wet
Mmmmm . . . . . that tastes too salty
This is just right.
Then the 3 dogs came and they walked in the house.
Sombody's been eating my dog food
And here she is
And Goldilocks died
And she fell on the ground
And the 3 dogs ate it up
Tape recorded
Movie Camera
Record player
Book
Workshop
And the Children's workshop on Channel 12
And don't ever do that again
So snip snap alligator
That tale's told out (from The Three Billy Goats Gruff)
The end

Early Stories Do Not Have Proper Plots

Without realizing it most of us are thoroughly learned in the hero tale. This is a major narrative and ideological creation of city civilizations: namely that entrepreneurial, achieving or heroic figures face tasks, overcome great odds, defeat the enemies and end by being victors of some sort. There are many cultures which lack this version of story telling (Abrams and Sutton-Smith, 1977), and young children in our society take about the first ten years of their life to acquire it completely. Stories by 2-7 year olds are typically repetitive, line by line, prosodic stories of the first three years of life. After the age of four they begin to take on a more sequential rather than a repetitive form. There is a sequence of events, though one cannot yet say there is a proper plot. So in story plot development we proceed from repetitive vectorial cycles, to chronology, to plot. Between three and seven years children live in a textual world that is between the prosody of the first three years and the prose plot of school children. Consider again, for example, the very first story that I gave you, by the four year old. The performance is now not simply signalled by various prosodic devices of rhyme and alliteration, although there can still be elements of these (note the line formation). Undoubtedly the intonations are still there but in addition, the story itself in literate societies is usually in the third person (Sutton-Smith & Heath, 1981), not in the first person as is often the case with very young children, and is usually centered around the actions of some central character ("a baby", a "dragon", etc.) of a clearly fictional kind. According to the Scollons, (1981) making the characters fictional and putting their actions in the past tense much more clearly distances the characters from the storyteller giving him greater freedom from the constraints of everyday life and, therefore, greater ability to manipulate the elements of this symbolic vehicle. The presentation of the self is now manipulated dramatically through the performance and is not submerged in its prosody. In addition, towards the end of this period some children do not just use the initial and terminal markers (Once upon a time, and The end) to signal beginnings and endings, they may add role markers such as "That was good one," or "This will be a long one", indicating on evaluative distance from the matter at hand. As we noted in her study of mentally retarded children learning to tell stories, Brooks found an unusual tendency to exaggerate these markers as if needing them as a crutch to clearly indicate that the storyteller was in possession of the tale (1981).

On the syntactic level story length increases enormously facilitated by all the parts of speech with which the child becomes familiar during these years, particularly conjunctions (and, then, etc.), locatives (in, over, on, up, at, on top of), the latter, usually serving to take the place of any larger delineation of the situation, dialogue, causal statements, possessives, adjectives, comparatives, and so on.

On the semantic level disequilibrating events and reversals (the pooping dragon) continue to be central to the stories in a vector

and variation style. However, unlike the earlier stories, characters are now fairly constant. In a sense there has been a change from disequilibrating actions with inconstant characters (see the earlier story on falling down) to constant characters and variable actions. Again whereas the earlier stories were a succession of distinct if similar episodes, now we get at least a chronology. The episodes have a certain temporal sequentiality even though there is no fully developed plot.

Still what is most to be emphasized of this four to seven year age period is that the storytellers are able to enact or dramatize their stories as they proceed by gesture and speech. These dramatic elements derived from children's play, which is more advanced than their narrative, gradually take the place of prosody as the major integrator of the performance (Bretherton, 1984). It is mimicry, parody and the firm stance of storytelling authoritative role that enables the four to seven year old to carry through.

From eight to twelve years there is considerable development though I will not say so much about this age group as it is much better covered in the available literatures [Labov, 1972; Peterson & McCabe, 1983; and in my own work (1981)]. The sense of a plotted story becomes increasingly clear after the age of eight years. There is still the same central complication but it is dealt with in a resolute manner rather than simply being stated or repeated or varied endlessly and unresolvedly. In our plot analyses (1981), we borrowed a system from the Marandas (1970) which they in turn borrowed from Levi Strauss (1963) whose basic theory of social structure was that it rotated about human conflict. In those terms the initial concern of our infants with disequilibration and the concern of our older age children with villainy and deprivation are instances of this larger social tendency to use expressive media for the resolution of conflict. At the earlier levels, the mere symbolization of trouble (falling down) is apparently a kind of resolution because it is, after all, performed in front of an audience who, if they enjoy the story, in a sense help the performers in their transformation of life events to symbolic ones. The performance then becomes the resolution even if the story content is not. Perhaps this is similar to the confession in church or therapy where the accounts themselves do not resolve the problem, but the blessing of the counselor does. Hyme's quote from Cassirer may be relevant here: "In speech and art . . . individuals do not simply share what they already possess; it is only by virtue of the sharing process that they attain what they possess."
(Hymes, 1981, b, p.9)

In the stories of these older children, however, the texts increasingly carry their own resolutions in the content of the story itself, rather than relying upon the performance context alone for that absolution from fate unhinged. And yet as many have shown, although the stories of these older children can thus be made to speak for themselves the story tellers also have all the verbal devices of turn taking, argumentation, teasing, rebuttal, introductions, asides, giving background, summaries, morals, scandalous content, evaluations, dramatizations and prosody to keep their audiences under control and in an appreciative state. In older children stories are performed with control of both management and matter. Here are four stages of plot control illustrated with stories (Sutton-Smith, 1981).

LEVEL I (No response to conflict)

The most common response at this level, typical of five to seven years, is that the subject is threatened or overcome by a monster or there is some lack or loss to which no response is made. In a few cases, we are only told of the presence of the monster with some implied threat, or someone else is hurt; or we are scared or the monster is described. One thinks of paralysis in the face of fear when seeking the biological counterparts of this response.

(11)
This is a story about a jungle. Once upon a time there was a jungle. There were lots of animals, but they weren't very nice. A little girl came into the store. She was scared. Then a crocodile came in. The end. (girl, age five.)

(12)
The boxing world. In the middle of the morning everybody gets up, puts on boxing gloves and

fights. One of the guys gets socked in the face and he starts bleeding. A duck comes along and says, "Give up." (boy, age five).

LEVEL II (Failure)

The predominant responses here are those of escaping or being rescued. The monster may be attacked but the attack is not successful. In this subject group, some children convert the monster into a benevolent creature. One may join with him in attacking others, or simply make him a nondangerous entity. On occasion, the benevolent monster has to persuade the mother (now the negative force) that he may be taken into the home quite safely. Unlike most fairy tales and folktales, there is little reference in this group of stories to the interference of magic or luck, an indication perhaps of the inner rather than outer directedness of this particular population. In most cases, those who rescue do not succeed in getting rid of the original threat either, so that these are Level II responses.

(13)
Henry Tick
Chapter I: A few years ago Henry Tick lived in a hippy's hair but he got a crew cut so Henry had to move. He went to the dog pound but it was closed. He went to the pet shop but it was closed too. Finally he found a nice baset hound. So he moved in. He got a good job at the circus jumping 2 inches in mid-air into a glass of water. One day he jumped but there was no water. He was rushed to the hospital. They put 12 stitches in his leg. Well, he never went there again. The end.

Chapter II: One day Henry Tick was walking down the street when he was almost stepped on. He was so startled he jumped in the shoe! He was in the shoe for about 15 minutes when the person took off the shoes and put them in the closet. Henry jumped out and ran into the next room which happened to be the bathroom. He jumped into the toilet, by mistake of course. Henry almost went down the drain.

Chapter III: Henry got out of the toilet. The first thing he did was wash. He found a damp washcloth in the sink. He wiped himself thoroughly and then dried off. He went into the next room and watched the football game.
(girl, age 10).

It should be noted that in the Henry Tick story, Henry escapes his various dangers, but in no way nullifies them. They still exist and may well return.

LEVEL III (Nullification).

At this level, the story's central character is successful in rendering the threat powerless in some way or in overcoming what is lacking. The enemy may withdraw. The nullification of the threat may be done by the good services of others, as in the following story of a pussy cat, who gets separated from his loved ones but is finally, after many travails, once again absorbed into a loving family.

(14)
A story about a pussy cat
There was this old cat. It was wandering around the streets and had nowhere to live. It was pregnant and it has nowhere to stay to have its babies and then it ran into another cat. The other cat said, "There's a burnt-out house where you can go and have your babies." And she said, "Where?" "Down the road and turn left." Two months passed and she had her babies. She died, it was wintertime. All the other babies got took by someone else except one little baby. This baby was frozen. She hardly could move. She got in the warmest spot. Someone dropped something out the window and she took it and made her warm. She got very sick. Someone took her in and made her better. She was a playful kitten. She knocked over so much stuff and they were too poor and no one to give it to so they let it go in the street. It was springtime. She was able to eat again. And she was wandering around looking for a home to stay in. Once in a while she would see another cat and play with it. And sometimes people would hold the little kitten. The kids would ask their mothers if they could keep it but their mothers would say no—it's too hard to keep a little kitten. One day this little girl came over. She had one older sister and one baby sister. She was 10 years old. She asked her mother if she could keep it. Her mother said, "No." The girl's name was Lisa. Lisa was gonna be 11 in two days. Her mother did not know what to get her for her birthday. She put it in the box and cleaned it and gave it food, went to the pet store and got a cat box and wrapped it. It was Lisa's birthday. Lisa thought it

was an empty cat box and was starting to cry, but when she opened it she was glad and the little girl took care of it and fed it milk and food and the little kitten lived with Lisa happily ever after. (girl, age 9)

LEVEL IV (Transformation)

At this level the danger is not only removed, there is a complete transformation, so that there is clearly no possibility of this threat or this lack returning again. In the following example, the ten-year-old writer has a story in three chapters. The first chapter has a level II ending, the second chapter has a level III ending, and the final chapter has a level IV ending.

(15)

Chapter 1: Mr. Hoot and the Married Lady

One night Mr. Hoot was sitting in his house thinking why he never had any fun. He said to himself, "Maybe I'm too shy." So he said to himself again that he was going to go out and get into mischief. He got on his coat and put on his contact lenses and he was off. There he was strolling from bar to bar. At his fifth bar, he decided to have a drink. He pounded on the table and said two martinis on the rocks. While he was waiting for his two drinks, he took off his shoes and socks and picked his feet. Then he got his drinks and chug-a-lugged them down the hatch. After his drinks, he saw a beautiful lady in the corner of the bar. So he went over to her and said, "Can I buy a drink?" She replied, "No, thank you. I'm not finished with this one." Then she said, "Anyway, please sit down and we will talk."

A big guy walking out the men's room came over to Mr. Hoot and said, "Are you fooling with my wife? How dare you," and picked Mr. Hoot up and threw him on the ground. The moral of the story is—you can't tell a married lady from a single lady.

Chapter 2: Mr. Hoot and the Stewardess

Once Mr. Hoot was sitting in the bar with his friend Bobby the Baboon. They were discussing going to Hollywood. Mr. Hoot said to Bobby, "Let's go next week." So they made all the arrangements and before they knew it they were on the airplane going to Hollywood. While they were on the airplane, Mr. Hoot saw this very attractive stewardess. So Mr. Hoot called her over and said, "Hi, what's your name?" She said, "Laura Sinch, what's yours?" "Harold Hoot," he said. Then he said, "How long have you been working for the airlines?" She replied, "Two years and seven months." Then they started talking about where they lived and other things like that. Then a little baboon said, "Hey, would you stop it with the lady and let her do what she's supposed to be doing." Then Harold got mad and said, "Shut up, you little baboon." Then Bobby said, "Hey, are you sounding on my kind? How dare you." "Oh, Bobby, butt out of this," Harold replied. Then the little baboon said, "Shut up, you overgrown owl." Then they really started at it. They were throwing pillows and suitcases at each other and cursing at each other. Then Harold gave him a good sock in the face and that was the end of the adventure.

Chapter 3: Mr. Hoot Gets Married

Once Harold was sitting in a restaurant at a table all by himself. Then he noticed a female owl sitting down by herself. Mischievously he walked over and asked her what her name was. She said, "Mary Gline." Then Harold thought for a moment and said, "Are you the girl that broke her wing when you were nine years old?" Then she said, "What's your name and how did you know about my wing?" "Well," said Harold, "I knew about your wing because your name sounded very familiar, so I thought back to my childhood and remembered a girl named Mary broke her wing, and my name is Harold Hoot." Then she said, "You were the kid they called Hoot the Toot." "Oh yeah," Harold replied. "I forgot about that." Then they started to talk about their childhood and ate dinner together.

After that night they went out to dinner, to movies and did lots of other things like that. After about a year, they told their parents they were going to get married. Their parents agreed and they had a wedding. They had the most beautiful wedding you can imagine. For their honeymoon they went to Niagara Falls. Then after that they settled down in a nice house in Poughkeepsie and had boys named Bobby and Peter. Last and not least, they lived happily ever after. (boy, age 10)

We Are Not Happy With The Perverse Content Of These Stories

Bad enough that the stories make sound and don't make sense; that they include and develop into sounding nonsense; that they are repetitive and idiosyncratic in nature; that they have no plots. My many examples have also shown you that they are full of perverse content. They may be funny, but they are often hardly respectable. Whatever else might be said for these stories many of us would be uncomfortable with their content, and would not seek to encourage children to tell them, either because of personal distaste or because of our apprehension that we would incur worse troubles with administration or parents if we did. If you have any doubts about what some children will do when they are free to tell whatever stories they wish, then I refer you to the study I did with David Abrams where we centered our attention exclusively on the most "perverse" of these stories. (Sutton-Smith & Abrams, 1978)

Clearly it takes courage to listen to children's freely told stories and to encourage them. For this reason most parents and teachers in the past have preferred not to either listen or to encourage them. Or alternatively, if they have listened or encouraged they have insisted on considerable circumscription of the degrees of freedom granted the children in order to bring the stories into some consistency with local mores.

We Use Stories for Pedagogy Not For Free Expression

A major reason for not listening to children's stories is, of course, that the major usage of stories by adults is to teach things to children, not to encourage their own free expression. Analyses of children's literature indicate the great extent to which this has been domesticated over the years to contain the kind of socializing content, of which the adult population could approve. (Zipes, 1983)

Even the supposedly spontaneous tales collected from the folk, like those of Grimm, were subjected by the Grimms themselves to the same kind of idealizing process. (Ellis, 1983) Furthermore, an analysis of a teacher telling stories to young children in nursery school shows that the bulk of what that teacher had to say was of pedagogical or couseling character rather than being about the story itself. (Cochrane-Smith, 1984) We use stories then for ideological indoctrination, not for encouraging child expression. Why should we listen to their stories when we have a quite different purpose for stories in mind?

The Changing Role Of Narrative In Science

To this point I have attempted to explain to myself and I hope to you, why it is we won't listen to children's stories. I first became interested in children's stories as a schoolteacher, and used them extensively in encouraging writing in the 7-12 year old schoolchildren whom I taught (1953). It has always been a puzzle to me why more teachers did not make use of children's very natural interest in telling stories. My own aim was ultimately to involve children in writing stories in order to acquire many of the poetic or prose skills that are an essential part of schooling. For the various reasons I have outlined here, I have felt until quite recently that this kind of proposal has been more or less void with most teachers.

But the world changes. Recently there has occurred a remarkable shift in the attitude towards stories in social science. It has come to be realized that stories are not just secondary or expressive functions of mind, (Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Ames, 1971) but that they actually help to form it (Bettelheim, 1976; Gardner, 1971). Bruner, for example, has contrasted our logical mind (the one studied by Piaget) with our narrative mind, and pointed out that children are much more capable at an early age in their memory for sequences of events and stories about events than they are in sorting out categories and logic, (1984). This revision of our sense of children's competence is bound to lead in turn to a more active pressure on schools to pay more attention to children's story telling. How we solve the various problems in our own attitudes, which I have outlined in this paper, is another question.

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PLAY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

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The Child's View of the World: Stories and Play

Prefatory Remarks

Usually when one is asked about theories of play it is appropriate to talk of Freud, Piaget, Berlyne, Bruner, Bateson and Vygotsky, and then to see if one can find any practical implications from what they say for early childhood. The problem with that approach is that all of these writers are relatively ethnocentric and unconcerned with the history of the subject matter. They study children in therapy or in laboratories, a most modern set of conditions, and arrive at their generalizations therefrom. What the subject desperately needs, however, is a leavening of history and anthropology. For play is as much a product of the historical and cultural views that we bring to it as it is of what we see children doing in front of our eyes. I must warn the practioner, therefore, that the course that I am about to take will be far ranging and possibly tedious, but I guarantee that in the long run it will have more important practical implications for young children's play, than will any other more orthodox "theoretical" approach that I might take.

I will begin by examining some of the widely contrasting views of play and games that are currently available to us, and then will proceed to deal with play and then with games, both of which are relevant to us. Under the heading of play I will deal with its idealization as freedom, as creativity and imagination, as mastery and as collaboration. Under the heading of games I will deal with the malediction of games, with games as irrational, as deceptive and as physical contest. As I proceed I will consider relevant applications of each of these points to the play of early childhood.

Introduction

It is popular modern conception that life is a game. Just what sort of a game life is, however, is open to question. We probably don't mean as the Greek Philosopher Heraclitus said, "Lifetime is a child at play, moving pieces on the board," some of which he spills on various occasions. As an aside, it is not hard to conceive the thermo nuclear zero sum game being played between the Russians and the Americans in these terms. We are all pawns due for a spilling in that great game, but still most moderns don't mean that by the phrase: "Life is a game."

Nor do we have in mind the brutal, obscene, but vital games of the middle ages as noted by Rabelais (1532) and as commented on by Mikhail Bakhtin (1965). Nor even do we mean the moralistic attitudes to games that have characterized the times between then and now. For example, we don't tend to see Breughel's Children's games as only a commentary on idleness and folly (Snow, 1983). Nor see Dutch 17th century genre painting as only a representation of negative attitudes towards the dissipation of life in brothels, where one passed part of one's time at dice or backgammon or cards; or see pictures of ice skating as only a representation of the slipperiness of life; or see hoop playing as a matter of running after nothing of substance; or see riding a hobby horse as a symbol only of deception (Wheelock, 1984).

What then do we mean by the phrase *life is a game*. Do we mean what Dutch historian Huizinga (1955) meant in *Homo Ludens* that the play forms of contest underly the forms of culture. Do we mean what anthropologist Clifford Geertz in the "Balinese Cock Fight" meant that the inhabitants of a society take "readings" of themselves from their own games (1973). They use the games for self interpretation. Do we mean what psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi seems to imply in *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety* that life is a search for those higher quality experiences (the flow), that games often best exemplify (1977). Or do we mean more cynically with clinician Eric Berne in *Games People Play*, that life is a collection of games that we use to deceive others and reward ourselves (1964). Do we mean even what

Michael Maccoby says in his work *The Gamesman*, that the most successful style of corporate management is that played by the one who models his procedures after those used in excessively competitive games (1976).

Clearly for an audience of the present conference whose interests are by and large of a practical nature, we probably mean none of the above. Play and games are the phenomena of early childhood groups that we see in front of our eyes and that we wish to manage positively. Supposedly we would prefer to begin our studies with practical maxims about those behaviors. What I will be doing here, however, is suggesting that we look at play and games. Not all languages bother to make this distinction in terms of an opposition along the following lines:

Play	**Games**
informal	formal
unorganized	organized
collaborative	competitive
routines	rules
aggregates	teams

In this paper I wish to look at the *ideologies* behind this distinction which gives it the significance it has begun to accrue in modern life. I will work first with play and later with games.

In their recent excellent psychological survey of the literature on play, Kenneth Rubin, Greta Fein and Brian Vandenberg (1983) summarized various dispositional, observational and contextual approaches to the concept of play noting a considerable consensus amongst modern psychologists that play is:

1. intrinsically motivated
2. is characterized by attention to means rather than ends
3. is guided by organism dominated questions
4. is focussed on instrumental behaviors
5. has a freedom from externally imposed rules
6. and involves active engagement by the participant

This is a very different colligation than that offered by Huizinga (1955) in his etymological survey of the use of the word play in a variety of languages: Greek, Sanskrit, Chinese, Japanese, Blackfoot, Semitic, Latin, Romance Languages, Germanic Languages, etc., where he gives us a list like the following. Play is:

lightheartedness
trifling
contestive
rapid movements
light engrossments
erotic dalliances
mockery and masking
deception and feigning
taking risks

It is even very different from other kinds of concepts for play that one finds used in psychology, such as:

tension reduction
abreaction
arousal modulation
neural priming
metabolic recuperation
need stimulation
heart rate variability
non prototypic variability
proximal zones
variable transformations
self generative processing
foregrounding
manipulation of frames
paradoxes
etc., etc., (Sutton-Smith, 1979)

Now obviously we have a potpourri in all of this of causal inferences, social science, semantics, and so on, all of which gives rise to considerable sympathy with the philosopher Wittgenstein (1963). He used games as a prime example of his view that there are no ultimate definitions for words; no essential meanings. Different words, he argues, have only overlapping clusters of resemblances; only families of meanings. For example, he says: we might call board games, card games, Olympic games, ball games, chess, noughts and crosses, ring-a-roses all games, but this does not mean they have any one characteristic common to all. Whether you refer to luck, competition, skill or pretence, they do not have any one feature that is universal. What actually happens, he says, is that we attempt to fix their meanings for our own worldly ends by drawing boundaries for special purposes. It has served our purpose to call board games, etc. all games in order presumably to distinguish them as a group from other grouping of human activities, such as, e.g., kitchen utensils.

Of course, his argument depends upon games being a legitimate metaphor for talking about words. But what if games are an especially flexible arena of human connotation, as at least one anthropologist has suggested saying that it is easier to acquire the games of another culture than to acquire their other cultural features (Keesing 1960). If this is the case, then words as such may be less labile than Wittgenstein says. This leaves us, however, with the basic Wittgenstein postulate that there is no essentialist meaning of the word game, presuming the reality of game meanings follows the reality of games metaphorically. This theoretical position, however, certainly does not exclude the possibility that for particular places and eras, power hierarchies of a sacred or political nature may so draw the boundaries of usage than in fact the meanings of games becomes essentially fixed over a long period of time. The usages of games may be relatively prescriptive even though their ultimate semantics are not.

My point today is that within Western language usage the meanings of play and games have been growing increasingly prescriptive over these past 200 years. Further that these prescriptions are of an ideological sort of that our research is defined by these ideologies, not simply read off the face of nature, as the definitions provided by Rubin, Fein and Vandenberg might have led us to believe. I have in mind one set of meanings emerging about the time of the Romantic Period in literature at the beginning of the 1900's which are associated largely with what the English call play; and another set of meanings with a much older historical lineage which are associated in English usage largely with the word game.

The Idealization of Play

The major point to be made here is that the romantic movement around 1800 conjoined with the prior Enlightenment was responsible for an increasingly utopian and rational view of play; one that has come to dominate much of 20th century thinking about the subject. This view contrasts markedly with the negative attitudes to play generated by the Reformation, though there is some historical continuity at least with the earlier Greek usage of the word paidia for children, for play and for ball games, in contrast to Greek usage of the terms agon and athlon for games, contests, and competition. In the hands of the Greek Philosophers of BC seven to four hundred, the term for play paidia is separated from the term agon standing for power and violence (Spariosu, 1982).

Whatever, the origin, however, in Greek epistemology, play, art and literature had in general a secondary status as contrasted with philosophy, logic and science. What happens in the Romantic period is that this 2000 year epistemological deficit for play is to some extent counteracted by the new status of play and art (Sutton-Smith, 1984).

In the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries what comes to bind play and art together and to reverse their epistemological plight is the new status given to the function of the human imagination. This reversal begins perhaps with the empiricist Hume's uneasy contention that the mind cannot entertain the constancy of external objects without predicating such a mental entity. All we know perceptually he says of an external object over time is a series of discreet impressions. We do not know that those impressions arise from a constant object. However, we pass easily from such a succession of impressions to the idea that there is something constant behind them, and this idea is not provided by nature but by ourselves. We not only feign the idea, he says, but we believe it. Hume is forced logically to such a position though he is full of distaste for it. He says, "I cannot conceive how such trivial qualities of the fancy, conducted by such false suppositions, can ever lead to any solid and rational system." (Warnock, 1976, p. 25) Through this concession by the great empiricist, however, the German idealists drove a whole cartload of epistemological and apriori categories of mind, including something to be called the *Faculty of the Imagination.* For Kant the imagination is a mediating power between our direct sensory knowledge and our more formal reasoning powers. It is the imagination that unites the two together. In both Hume and Kant, however, there is still a platonic-like antinomy between imagination that is "mere fantasy" and the kind of imagination that we might today call a "heuristic fiction." The first is "mere play" or

fancifulness while the second is the imaginative "as if" which lies behind all important concepts, scientific, philosophical or even religious. The modern recognition of the role of models and of metaphors in our basic scientific presuppositions is a later extension of Kant's grasping of the essentiality of the imagination in all understanding. We first presuppose in our imagination what we later proceed to investigate.

In Kant's formulation both play and art have linkages with the imagination but they are not the same thing. It is Friedrich Schiller who is usually given the credit for uniting the notion of play with that of art. And he is usually read as saying that the play impulse gives rise to the aesthetic impulse and that in turn the aesthetic impulse gives rise to refined moral judgement. His advocacy of human freedom and human autonomy and human spirituality as based in the sequence of play, art and morality was much heralded in his day and has been the highest expression of the role of play in culture until the writings of Huizinga who says that culture arises in and through the act of playing. The association of art, of freedom of expression and of the autonomy of the individual arising from larger unconscious or intrinsic sources through the play impulse was a key element in that heyday of Romanticism. And whether that almost extreme advocacy of the freedom and divinity of the artist was a reflex to the increasing industrialization of European life (the Raymond Williams view, 1981) due to the political disenfranchisement of a generation of intellectuals (the Arnold Hauser view, 1958) or to the occupational disenfranchisement of artists themselves from their prior patronage or academies (the Gombrich view, 1966) or a dozen other possibilities, there is no doubt that Schiller provides the historical moment when play and art appear to be married, with the image of their marriage cemented by idealistic images of Greek bodies in Olympic contests (play) and in Greek sculpture (art). The noble simplicity and the serene greatness of classical art (which was in apparently mostly poor Roman copies) was the Hellenistic reredos, or if you will, Hellenistic metaphor for this marriage.

But if one looks closely at Schiller it is clear that the credentials for the marriage are highly ambiguous and suspect from the start. While on the one hand Schiller appears to give us the causal sequence play-art-morality. On the other, he also makes clear that he is only dealing with play that is consonant with beauty. He lauds the Greeks' bloodless contests over the gladiatorial combats of the Romans, and explains the presence of Greek sculpture as due to their kind of play. When he makes his often quoted statement that "Man plays only when he is in the full sense of the word a Man, and he is only wholly a man when he is playing." (1965, p. 80) we need to realize that this is not a statement just about play, it is also about "the full sense of the word a Man", in short, the idealized man who participates only in noble contests. His is an argument only for a certain kind of aesthetic play, not just for everyday physical play. So despite the fact that it is sometimes said of Schiller that he is the greatest advocate of the play-art connection, it is also true that he had in mind only a more refined kind of play. He was strictly concerned with what is poetic or heuristic in play and was not concerned with the crass play of the peasants or the streets.

In Education the association of play with freedom of expression is well known in varied forms in the early 19th century doctrines of Rousseau, Froebel and Pestalozzi. In Psychology, the notion of play and art as forms of free expression entered through the mid century writings of Herbert Spencer, who adopted Schiller's notion that such free expression is driven by an underlying surplus energy in the child, though Spencer added evolutionary implications to the viewpoint. Spencer goes on to declare that play and art are the same activity because neither subserves, in any direct way the processes conducive to life and neither refers to ulterior benefits—the proximate ends are their only ends." (Spariosu, 1982, p. 29) "Spencer is amongst the first influential scientists in the Anglo-American tradition to consider play fit for scientific study." (ibid, p. 29)

With this kind of transcendental philosophy in mind, a rereading of the Rubin, Fein and Vandenberg definitions which also stress freedom, autonomy, activity and detachment from life concerns comes as something of a surprise. Developmental psychology certainly prides itself in general on its empiricism, but here we have an apparently blatent example of the role

of an idealistic and transcendental inheritance determining the supposedly observed phenomena.

There is, of course, much more to the lineage than this. The notion of the child's play as necessary for its growth as in Groos, or that the child in play turns passivity to activity in Freud, or that the child in play becomes the master of his experience in Erikson, or the asssociation of play and cognition in Vygotsky and Piaget, or play and exploration in Berlyne or play and metacommunication in Bateson, can all be seen as further positive interpretations of play in the modern social science tradition. There is no twentieth century theory of play that does not credit it with some worthwhile functional status (Sutton-Smith, 1980). Just as Schiller and Kant emphasized the ideal side of play and ignored "mere" play or "ignoble" play, so does modern social science ignore that play can often be brutal or dysfunctional (Sutton-Smith & Kelly-Byrne, 1984).

A number of ideological dimensions which affect present day thought can be derived from this complex of theories and studies.

Play As Freedom Not Contraint

Primary is the view that *play is particular manifestation of freedom*, therefore informal and unorganized by outsiders. Definitions of play which emphasize the player's autonomy or responsivity to intrinsic motivations are residuals of romantic notions of freedom. Most probably, play's "freedom" today derives primarily from the duality of the industrial work ethic, which inevitably ascribed greater pleasure and a sense of freedom or relaxation to domains outside of regular work. Play is one of these domains and shares its euphoria. The concept of intrinsic motivation is also an odd legatee. Innumerable studies demonstrate that such motivation is higher in the modern than in the third world, and greater in higher than in lower socioeconomic statuses. All of which suggests it as a kind of psychological relic of amateurism. Intrinsic motivation is something that one needs wealth to be able to afford. Unfortunately, in world wide terms the extrinsically motivated do not seem to play any less than the intrinsically motivated. And historical studies show that much of mankind's playing has been done under sacred or obligatory circumstances. Even studies of a modern playground will demonstrate that play is the culture of childhood and children will suffer greatly in order to be a part of it. Freedom and intrinsic motivation are not especially characteristic of play in any universal perspective. In fact, it is one of the immense, social values of play that simply because children want to have it so much, they are forced out of personal freedom into a kind of temporary slavery to those who are running the games. Play motivation will take the player through all kinds of herdships and unpleasantness in which they would not engage if it was not play. They may be free from their school studies at that time, or free from their parents, or free from boredom, but they are certainly not free from the hegemony of older children or of the rules insisted on by their peers. In fact, play is such a compulsion that the player repeats over and over again the same themes as if he or she is indeed not free at all from their states of possession (Kelly-Byrne, 1982). To play is to be possessed in a most fundamental sense, it is not to be free at all.

Given the way in which we have increasingly domesticated childhood throughout these past 100 years, through schools, organized recreation, sports, museums and television, freedom is not always the most obvious characteristic of modern childhood. One speculates, therefore, whether our insistence upon it then may derive from kind of a compensation to ourselves. Do we idealize children's play as freedom as a compensation for our own guilt in giving them so little leeway or alternatives to compensate ourselves for having so little? I have no simple answer, but I strongly suspect that these criteria of freedom or intrinsic motivation are quite ethnocentric and dubious as universal insights into the nature of play, despite their cultural relevance to ourselves.

Play As Imagination And Creation Not Mimesis

A second dimension comes to us from the philosophical conflation of art and play and the imagination which is so strong in 19th century thought, and has been reaffirmed in a number of recent studies apparently showing positive correlations between various measures of play and creativity (Lieberman, 1979) and between play and the imagination (Singer, 1973). The problem with these various associations is the

usual problem with correlational data. It does not make clear what is the cause of what. But worse still there is often in these studies a conflation between the imagination and imaginative play as if these are both the same (Garvey, 1977). There is no need, however, to confuse the imagination with pretending. One can imagine or envisage all kinds of possibilities as all artists and inventors must do without being at play. Again there is no need to conflate the exaggerative signifiers of play with the divergent signifiers of creativity, as I have done myself in some earlier work (1966, 1967, 1968).

Still the desire to see childhood as a creative and imaginative arcadian period is a firm gesture in twentieth century thought as exemplified by such names in children's literature as Carroll, Kingsley, Grahame, Potter, Nesbit, Barrie and Milne. Since Wordsworth in literature and Froebel in education, there has been a widespread notion that children have some special access to fantasied things. Carpenter, in his recent work on children's literature *Secret Gardens*, finds his reasons for all of this in adult desire to compensate for spreading industrialism and work place alienation, etc. (Carpenter, 1985). Projecting such desireable life alternative into childhood is our own escape from their lack in our own lives, says Covenay (1967) in his classic *The Image of Childhood*. Although we may take for granted such associations, it is useful to remember that from Platonic times onwards, by contrast and more conservatively, the major positive focus made between play and life was on good mimesis or good imitation. Play was viewed largely as a conservative force. Play as a secondary epistemology gained its value by its imitation of the virtuous life activities about it, not by any divergent departure from them Again the cross cultural evidence shows that the very modern idea of an individualized imagination is a product of literate not oral societies in which the imagination works much more collectively on behalf of group memory and rhetorical leadership. The imagination as we know it from our novels and our theaters is a modern not a universal phenomenon (Sutton-Smith & Heath, 1981). Motor play, ritual play and folkplay can exist with little need for imagination.

Play As Mastery Not Idleness

A third dimension throughout the child psychological literature is on play as some kind of *mastery*. One finds it in writers as diverse as Lewis Carroll, Roger Caillois, Erik Erikson and Jean Piaget (Blake, 1974). This emphasis suggests a rationality for play, which is certainly as strong as the emphasis on play as freedom. One suspects that play has picked up this Horatio Alger theme from deep strands of Western individualism probably enhanced both by Enlightenment and Evolutionary ideologies. Support for such a speculation might come from the highly individualistic character of most modern play theories. They are about individuals at play and how they succeed through it affectively, conatively or cognitively (Freud, Erikson, Piaget, Berlyne). These theories are very seldom about groups at play. Furthermore, it can be argued that a major trend in children's play over the past 100 years has been away from group or street play, even playground play, towards individual and solitary play with rational objects, with toys and recently with video games. Surprisingly the philosophical antagonists Locke and Rousseau both made a case against collective play (Sutton-Smith, 1985). Achievement in the modern world as compared with the mediaeval world is an individual rather than a collective outcome.

Still even if that be the case, why should play be conflated with mastery or problem solving, particularly as a number of researchers have found it empirically quite possible to distinguish between mastery and play (White, 1975), or exploration and play (Hutt, 1979). Why can't' a child's attempts at intelligent mastery of the environment or of knowledge simply be called mastery. Why must they be called play? Or why must play be called mastery when so much of it is clearly only a pretense of mastery and an exhibition of the child's lack of real mastery? One suspects that an ideology of mastery like an ideology of freedom or the ideology of creativity prevails and reflects the ways we wish to think about childhood rather than evidence that childhood play is universally typified by these dimensions.

Play As Collaboration And Cooperation

This leads finally to a fourth dimension for characterizing play now emerging strongly in

feminist literature, namely, the importance of play as a *collaborative* and informal rather than a contestive and formal undertaking. Helen Schwartzman, author of the outstanding work on the anthropology of children's play, for example, protests strongly the male usurpation of the word play for more structured and contestive kinds of phenomena and she insists that much of the informal, fleeting, verbal and collaborative play of women has as a result been neglected (1978). Huizinga, in particular, is scored for his view that play must be a contest, and must occur in a place apart from the ordinary currents of life. Her views on play interpretation coalesce with collaborative trends emerging from the cultural revolution of the 1960's, in particular as found in The New Games Movement, where games, whether collaborative or contestive, are played in large groups, with whole families and always stressing the fun and the pleasure but never the grimness and toughness which can also be associated with play (Fluegelman, 1976: De Koven, 1978). We find in these two movements a definite effort to counter both the competitive and the solitary excesses of modern play.

Two other feminist attacks on play concepts are also of interest. The first is that of Margaret Talbot in her: *Women and Leisure* who argues that play has been largely a masculine preserve and that throughout these past hundreds of years women and girls have little access to major modes of recreation of any sort. Not inconsistent with this emphasis but more psychological in implication is the analysis of Barbara Babcock, anthropologist and editor of *The Reversible world* (1978) who contends that many of the supposed characteristics of play in modern society are actually terms for what is feminine. Play, like womanhood, she argues, is a liminal or marginal area of life, usually studied by marginal unorthodox scholars such as Baktin, Goffman, Bateson, Geertz and Turner. Play as defined in our masculine dictionaries is:

trivial	unreal
frivolous	unnecessary
immature	disorderly
childlike	indiscreet
narcissistic	fluid
nonsensical	open
free	

All of these terms contrast with the seriousness of the male order of political and economic life, from which she concludes that play and recreation to which men have access and women largely do not is in a large part a magical projection of what men think of and represents men wearing the costumes of women in a kind of magical sphere to which women themselves do not have access. Play on these terms is a negative of modern life, a reversible world, heavily saturated with ideological differences between men and women, of which collaboration and informality are merely two dimensions.

But even if none of these speculations about the ideological sources of play as freedom, creativity, imagination, mastery, problem solving, as collaborative and informal are very firmly supportable, much the same implication can be drawn from the contexts in which we confine modern children. The domestication of the modern child has effectively led to the extinction, at least in those places, of much of the brutal and obscene physical play which used to characterize childhood. It has led to the encouragement of play which is tied into educational instrumentalities, and these are often the major interest of both the teachers and the children's parents. It has been the praxis in these educationally oriented institutions to conflate play with many other kinds of child activity and intelligence, including mastery, problem solving, creativity, imagination, etc. In these constrained and supervised circumstances the child is given a limited range of choices of materials and behaviors with which to exercise its freedom. A child who does not enthusiastically make these choices may evoke attention for psychological counseling. Those who do make the choices will be seen to be actively engaged, intrinsically motivated and occupied with a safe and secure toy world where non instrumental behaviors are all that is desirable.

According to this analysis then we have on our hands an ideology of childhood and therefore of play that it should be free in the constrained circumstances we provide, imaginative and creative rather than physical and obstreperous, lead to mastery and problem solving rather than inconsequential hilarity and parody, be collaborative rather than competitive and informal rather than organized. While, as we have seen, such dimensions can have diverse

historical origins, the current power behind this ideology has to be our own desire to control and domesticate childhood. Modern play theory is a reflex of the zooification of childhood. And all its charming and idealized aspects are little different from those we have attributed to women at their feminized best.

Unless it be thought that such an ideology has little to do with empirical work in play, I call your attention, without further elaboration to the empirical demise that has recently overcome the experimental work seeking to show that play is an aid to problem solving. These studies began with the classic 1974 experiment of Sylva, Bruner and Genova (Bruner, Jolly, Sylvan, 1976), and the apparent positive relationships have recently been shown to be atrributable to experimenter bias. Experimenters Simon and Smith (Smith, 1984) have indicted this category of ideological optimism about play. Similarly the series of experimental studies on play as inducing alternate usages has come to a similar doom once appropriate controls were exercised for experimenter effects. Once again the experimenters were ideologues of play's rationality and creativity.

As a partial and minimal test of these notions my colleague Dr. D. Kelly-Byrne (1982) carried out a year long study in which she recorded her own play with a seven year old girl, engaging her about once a month in sessions lasting up to five hours at a time, all taking place in the girls' chosen spot, her bedroom. Her intent was to play with the young girl and to be her willing playmate. The relationship was not unlike that which takes place in play therapy except that that was not its intent, and she was an active participant rather than a therapeutic observer. At the same time she kept notes on the girl's home and school relationships with peers and parents.

To the "thick" individualized data that emerged we can put the question, to what extent was the girl "free" to choose what she played, to what extent was she imaginative, to what extent demonstrating mastery, to what extent collaborative. Ostensibly she could choose what she wished. In fact, she always chose a battle between good and bad women. Her fantasies, though freely chosen, were more compelled by this peremptory metaphor than they were free ranging. The compulsion of a metaphoric key was most evident (Burke, 1966). In my study of children's freely told stories over three years, I have found the same outcome (Sutton-Smith, 1981). Most children telling freely told stories become obsessed with particular themes which they repeat and repeat over long periods of time. In being free in play one is not free from private myths.

Even so, her accounting of these battles between powerful women was highly imaginative. She used dozens of different "voices" for her multiple characters as well as many intricate scenarios. She was a highly literate child with professional parents who had read to her extensively. Her characters were borrowed from Greek and Norse myths. On close analysis however, it became apparent that throughout all of this she was transmuting with multiple permutations the relative status of her mother and her father in the family scene. The mother was the powerful one, and dominant women were enacted throughout the first half of the year in Kingdoms in which the men had been killed off. As time passed, however, males were gradually reintroduced at first in a dependent and submissive role and then later as distant but potential lovers. It was a story in which her role as the central character was to kill those who had murdered her father, the King, and restore peace to the war torn country and be nice and caring of people. It was a variety of Lord Raglan's *The Hero* (1936) over again. What is most striking is the clear parallel between her imaginative transmutations and her own family scene, which is what we might expect from 50 years of psychodynamic play therapy, and yet continues to be neglected in practically all academic psychological work on children's imaginations because they are seldom studied in their appropriate contexts or given a sufficiently long term reign in order for their general themes to become explicit.

Does she gain mastery through this play. That's too large a question to answer. First we must ask whether in the play the characters gain mastery over their play crises. That she does. But then this is Western Society in which the hero tale dominates and heroic resolutions are supposed to be achieved in fantasied domains. The judgement from my story data shows that children's stories for the first seven years by and large do not have proper heroic resolutions, but

that these develop after that age. Stories in non heroic societies simply do not have these masterful resolutions (Abrams and Sutton-Smith, 1977). Mastery then is again a Western concept of fantasy, reflected not only in our achievement myths but also in the play theory of an Erik Erikson.

Of course she was only too happy to collaborate with Dr. Kelly-Byrne as her playmate. Most children would welcome a drama expert as their playmate. But given that acceptance she dominated her unflinchingly throughout. It was a totally assymetrical relationship with the adult being the almost complete vassal of the girl as player. The girl's role play as a dominant Queenly woman was quite rigid. In ordinary life situations however, with Dr. Kelly-Byrne she was quite submissive, allowing herself to be cared for and fed. Again this is not untypical of children's play, which is to a great extent centrally concerned with dominance relationships, with the establishment of hierarchies and with the nature of power. The theme of arbitrary leadership is very general in girls' games (Mother May I; Redlight: Creeping Up; Statues, etc. [Sutton-Smith, 1972]), even though this particular girl, with her particular mother, may have been more obsessed with the role of female control than many other girls might be.

In sum, we see that in this example the player is free in order, paradoxically, to be obsessed, and the player is imaginative only as an agent working on family issues of power, and is masterful only in terms of culturally given themes of narrative mastery, and is collaborative only so she can use her playmate to exploit fantastic excesses of dominance. The avoidance of these kinds of power implications in most normative play theory seems to this writer to be a woeful neglect of 50 years of psychodynamics despite the lack of research rigor in that field, and is also subject to the criticism of hopeless romanticism. Modern play theory is still an "Ode to Childhood."

The Idealization and Malediction of Games

The idealization of contests of athletic, games or sports varieties is at least a 2,000 year legacy in Western Civilization. Whether we refer to the Greek games, Roman gladiatorial combats, Tournaments, War Games of the Blue and the Red, the amateur code, modern Olympics, or professional sports, we are confronted with this hegemonicus usage of the play concept in Western Society. Huizinga may not have been correct to consider play dominantly from the viewpoint of play as contest but it was, as a starting point, a very realistic statistical bet. The word *idealized* has a different connotation for this group than with the play group. In the latter it stands for tender minded variables: children, women, fantasy, etc. Here it stands for tougher minded variables: prestige, heroism, championships, etc. The dimensions to be dealt with this time are clusters which deal in order first with games of chance, second with strategy, third with physical contests.

Games As Irrational

Man as the creature of irrational Gods is strong in Homeric narrative. Games of chance, although not universal, are widespread in human societies, usually associated with divinatory rites and economic uncertainty, according to the cross cultural studies of John Roberts and co-workers (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962). They can vie with physical contests as amongst one of the most primary meanings of the concept play. And yet moderns talking about play seldom have in mind, "taking chances", taking risks, gambling and acting in other irrational ways. I have just completed editing a *Handbook of Children's Folklore* and it contradicts completely the kind of phenomena discussed in Handbooks of Socialization. The latter, written by psychologists, are largely concerned with society as an Enlightenment or Apollonian concern in which children are gradually enculturated into the rationalities of their own society. My Handbook is almost entirely about Dionysian children defying such rationalities by plays of protest, parody, aggression, scapegoating, cruelty, brutality, humor, mocker, superstition, sex play, toilet lore, panty raids, slang, initiation ceremonies, food fights, insults, camp songs, etc., etc. It is quite possible to justify the notion that much of modern children's play is quite irrational despite the momentum of rational idealization in the Rubin, Fein and Vandenberg definition quoted above.

Amongst anthropologists of symbolic life irrational, or deep play is sometimes given a major role in cultural dialectics and seen as a

necessary kind of adjustment to irrevocable social conflicts. It is contended that carnivals and games, because of their temporary re-orienting of priorities of social class, or psychological control systems, maintain the larger equilibrium of the society (Murphy, 1971). Babcock's account of play as a kind of "projective feminity" on the part of males, which has been described above, would be of this order. Geertz is famous for his view that the irrational and bloody gambling game of cock fighting amongst the decorous people of Bali is a lesson to those who participate about what would happen if the whole society was allowed to take this direction. He uses the word "deep" play in the double sense, that in participating one can literally lose one's gambling shirt, but also for most participants can become knowledgeable about deeper truths of their own society.

Oddly enough the concept of games of chance exists in a kind of orthogonal relationship both to tender hearted play concepts and tough hearted games of contest. Throughout Western history, at least, there has been more legal restrictions on this kind of play than on any other, although in many tribal societies, particularly American Indian, such games are clearly the central kind of play. Bourgeois opposition to this principle of achievement seems to be the major reason for so much anti gambling, anti lottery, anti Bingo activity. Despite the continuance of this opposition in our own times, the gambling sector of the American economy is larger than any other play sector. Surely, therefore, this must be a caution to those social scientists who would prefer to define play without any attention whatsoever to such a very fundamental irrational component. How can play be defined solely in terms of intrinsic motivation, or concerns with the means and not the ends, for example, when all games of chance are based on the importance of extrinsic motivation, the getting of something for nothing. Of course one can prevaricate about the excitement of the event being its real meaning and the outcome only its justification. But there is such an enormous difference between games of chance and games of skill, that definitions covering only the latter are of a bourgeois ethnocentric character only. Despite all the legal and other moral restrictions, the notion of luck or fate as an instrument of human achievement or success is a central part of modern society. At least 50% of persons in the USA admit to gambling at least once a week, at least in a moderate way, according to recent surveys (McGurrin, et al., 1984). Untold millions also live their lives according to the soap opera and yellow journalistic imagery of adventitious success. It is of some import that we do not try to make games of chance an ideological model for worldly success but they are nevertheless found most helpful by half the society in their attempt to get by. In games of chance we have an example of a game that is addictive, but of a parallel ideology of Lady Luck, which is definitely kept back stage except amongst those of lower socioeconomic status (Caillois, 1961). By contrast, in Games of Strategy, the ideology of contest games, if anything, has become larger than the games themselves.

In my prior speech on stories, I gave you example after example of irrational stories told by children. Here now is an example of the child needing to play in its own "irrational" way despite the mother's strenuous attempts to "rationalize" and make acceptable the young child's activity. The example is from Judy Dunn.

Garry: (playing with a teddy bear) He's got to have a rest. He feels much better now, Ted does. He's eating it up. He's gone to sleep now. He's got his pillow for his head. Night Night.

Mother: Have you read him a story?

Garry: No he doesn't want a story.

Mother: He doesn't want a story? Ooh, you have a story when you go to bed. Why don't you get your caterpillar book and read him that?

Garry: He doesn't want a story. He's asleep now . . . Now he's sitting on the chair. 'Cause he's one of the three bears.

Mother: One of the three bears? Where's their porridge? Here's Goldilocks. Look.

Garry: This is . . . Goldilocks. She went for a walk. And sat down there. And went for a walk. And Big Father see that (*growls*). And he went to bed with him. And he went to Goldilocks. And he . . . went in that bed. And it was too little for him so's he could go in it (*growls*). So Daddy Bear tried Baby Bear's. Daddy

tried Baby Bear's. Now he's in Baby Bear's. Baby Bear's tired. Who's this he says (*growls*). I'm going to wake her up. And he smack Little Ted. Waw Waw Waw. Smack smack . . . He doesn't want to go to bed any more. He wants to go to the toilet. He's doing weewee on the floor.

Mother: He'd better not. Go and sit him on the potty.

Garry: He's done it. He's weeing on the floor. He's weeing on the floor again. He's done it again and again and again. He's done it on the floor. He's done it on the sofa . . . There's Father Bear coming and Baby wakes up.
Smack him! Smacked his father! And he goes and . . . And Father says That's my chair! (*growls*) And Smack! Smack! Smack!

(Dunn, 1980)

It is simply not possible to deal with the very young for any length of time without realizing that they must deal constantly with hurts and unhappinesses, with conflicts, and with forbidden pleasures, and that these constitute a significant portion of their play with the irrational. And just as we often won't listen to the stories that they would like to tell us, so similarly we would rather not know about this kind of play. We would prefer to think of play problem solving and as mastery of clean tasks, not as a mastery of life's less tasteful desires and unhappy feelings.

Games As Deception

Games of strategy coexist statistically with higher levels of cultural complexity, and the existence of specialized social and occupational classes, etc. Anthropologist John Roberts and I in our series of cross cultural studies were led to suppose that they were models of strategy, tactics and social systems which were necessary when tribal groups reached such levels of complexity as to need training in the artifices of military or diplomatic strategy (Sutton-Smith, 1972). Presumably strategy and deception are as old as human history, except that the cross cultural date on strategy games also show that they increase linearly with cultural complexity. There is more child training in trustfulness in tribes of lower general complexity, a statistical finding which is supportive of our proposition about strategic games as models of deceptive power. Intellectual rationalizations of deceptiveness are known to us in European Society largely from the time of the Renaissance and the writings of Machiavelli (1513), Castiglione (1528); but the same sense of human sophistication in social dealings is implicit in the parodies of those times by Erasmus (1509), Rabelais (1532) and Cervantes (1605). In case the reader should think of this as a very special and limited case of play, the English dictionary, on the contrary, makes these kinds of elements central to play's definition (Webster, 1961).

The player is not *trustworthy:*

He plays both ends against the middle
plays tricks
plays on words
plays hob
plays havoc
plays one against the other
makes plays for the opposite sex
plays second fiddle
plays into your hands
plays upon your feelings
plays up to you
plays his cards well
(Webster, 1961)

He is the player who sees life as a gamble:

He takes his chances
Finds the odds against him
Has an ace up his sleeve
Is holding all the aces
Sees it as a toss-up
Knows how to play his cards right
Will win big
Or is a real loser, but
Where is he when the chips are down
Perhaps he has an ace in the hole
Or he is bluffing
Or is playing it close to the vest
Should he up the ante
Sweeten the pot
Stand pat
Or wait for the luck of the draw
(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

And beyond the dictionary, even in children's play, if we may judge by our two most representative, albeit anecdotal collections, English (Opie and Opie, 1968; Slukin, 1981) and

American (Knapp and Knapp, 1976), samples or my own analysis, approximately two thirds of children's playtime is engaged in power struggles and deceptions of one kind or another.

Furthermore, just as games of chance have entered into rational modern thought in a momentous way as the theory of probability for which they were Pascal's original model, so games of strategy have had their momentous impact through the Game theory of Von Neumann and Morgenstern. According to one scenario our rational Russians and rational Americans go about planning their zero sum games with minimax strategies, hoping to maximize their own gains at the expense of their opponents. Enormous time and effort has gone into the predictive value of these and multiple other kinds of game considerations in all bargaining situations whether those of economics, politics or war (Tedeschi, Schenker, Bonoma, 1973). And while most suppose that mixed motive games, even maximax games, are more probable than zero sum games as a metaphor for world conflict, no one seems to doubt the value of strategic games of contest when talking about human affairs (Schelling, 1960). This is the century when the game of contest and related strategies came into their own as a metaphor for the control of human affairs, whether in war, business (Maccoby, 1976), psychopathology (Berne, 1974), anthropology (Geertz, 1973), sociology (Goffman, 1974), education (Avedon and Sutton-Smith, 1971).

As Geertz has said in his commentary on Goffman:

> the image of society that emerges from Goffman's and from that of the swarm of scholars who in one way or another follow or depend on him, is of an unbroken stream of gambits, ploys, artifices, bluffs, disguises, conspiracies and outright impostures as individuals and coalitions of individuals struggle—sometimes cleverly, more often comically—to play enigmatical games whose structure is clear but whose point is not. (1980, p. 170)

Clearly no theory of play is sufficient that does not take into account the role of artifice and strategy in human playfulness. What is perhaps lacking in these too liberal attempts to use games as a model for human affairs is that the differences between games and everyday life tend to be oblivesced. Games can heighten motives and intensity of action by clearly containing it. In games of contest one can allow a blatant competitiveness and deception because the rules are supposed to prevent any social breakdown from occurring. And although such controls are not always successful by and large they work. In everyday public behavior, however, where such collaboration is not assured there must be an enormous amount of pettyfogging ritualism to prevent disruption. Goffman's astute writings of *Behavior in Public Places* (1973) should convince one of the irrelevance of much that is said about games, including that of Goffman himself, to everyday affairs. The ideology of the competitive game is a foreign transplant when applied to family or community groups, though it may indeed make more sense in situations where others are treated in relatively alien ways as instruments of specific actions, and the rest of their humanity is disregarded. Perhaps the war of ideologists we are describing here between those who idealize play and those who idealize games has its center at just this point, where the treatment of human beings as members of a community contrasts so strongly with their treatment as agencies of instrumental powers, economic or governmental.

Play and games metaphors then become epiphenomena in the struggle between women and men, peace parties and war parties, ecologists and industrialists, etc. Paradoxically, games of chance which exist outside the hegemonious ideologies of achievement do exercise a greater autonomy as forms of play than do games of strategy, which are subsumed to reigning ideologies. Nixon could talk about his game plan in Cambodia. He did not advocate his bombing as a throw of the dice.

At the early childhood level it is possible to see the seeds of the strategies which will in due course become a component of many adult kinds of playing. There follows three examples in order of the age of the players. They are of increasing complexity and each involves the manipulation of one or more players by other players. They are elementary lessons in learning the character of strategy.

(1)

Kathy, an 18 month old, was half sprawled across her mother's lap, sucking on a small block. A 24 month old, Tasha, stood nearby watching them. Kathy's mother pulled a block from Kathy's mouth, saying "Get that out of your mouth, Dirty." Tasha hopped over to the other blocks on the floor a few feet away, got one, and placed it in her mouth as she approached Kathy's mother. She stopped near the mother, facing her, apparently waiting for her to pull the block from *her* mouth as she had done for Kathy. Kathy quickly approached, vocalized, and pulled the block from Tasha's mouth, then backed away slightly, holding the block. Tasha turned, got another block, placed it in her mouth and approached Kathy. Kathy approached and vocalized, pulled the block from Tasha's mouth and placed it in her own mouth. Tasha got another block, placed it in her mouth, turned to look at Kathy, then stood, waiting. Kathy approached and pulled the block from Tasha's mouth for the third time. They stood looking at each other, about three feet apart, for four seconds. Then Kathy took a block from her own mouth and seemed to try to place it in Tasha's mouth. Tasha opened her mouth to accept the block, while Kathy's mother turned to Tasha's mother and said "Yukh." Kathy pulled the block back and walked away. She held out another block tentatively to Tasha but Tasha didn't notice as she turned, got a block from the floor, and placed it in her mouth. She approached Kathy, stood and waited, her head thrust forward with the block in her mouth. Kathy approached and tried to remove the block, but had to drop the blocks she was holding to do so. She removed the block and placed it in her own mouth, then backed away. Tasha got another block, and fifth, placed it in her mouth and approached Kathy. Kathy reached for the block, but Tasha backed away and held on to the block, saying "Mine," then hopped away. (Hays, Ross, Goldman, 1979)

(2)

Girl (38 months).	**Boy (35 months).**
1. Say, 'Go to sleep now.'	2. Go sleep now.
3. Why? (Whining)	4. Baby . . .
5. Why?	6. Because.
7. No, say 'Because.' (Emphatically)	8. Because. (Emphatically)
9. Why? Because why?	10. Not good. You bad.
11. Why?	12. 'Cause you spill your milk.
13. No, 'cause I bit somebody.	14. Yes, you did.
15. Say, "got to sleep. Put your head down.' (Sternly)	16. Put head down. (Sternly)
17. No.	18. Yes.
19. No.	20. Yes. Okay, I will spank you. Bad boy. (Spanks her)
21. My head's up. (giggles) I want my teddy bear. (petulant voice)	22. No, you teddy bear go away. (Sternly)
23. Why?	24. 'Cause he does. (Walks off with teddy bear)
(Girl drops baby role):	
25. Are you going to pack your teddy bear?	
(Garvey, 1977)	

(3)

Sally (to Alison): Why don't you go and do your homework? You got any homework? You want to play with your teddy bear?
Ellen: No, she's being a bad girl today.
Alison: No I didn't.
Sally (to Ellen): What did she do?
Ellen: She picked up a knife. Was trying to kill her dad.
Alison (with frown): No I didn't. I just maked a play one.
Ellen (hugging): That's OK then.
(Fein, 1985)

Games As Physical Contest

These are the most widespread of games in the world and exist in many societies which do not also have either games of chance or games of strategy, or both. Their existence alone is correlated with societies of low complexity. Much that has been said about games of strategy also applies here. These games, as in Greek or modern Olympia, have always been the most prestigious of all kinds of games. But as we have seen, there is a shift going on in this century in games, from physical to symbolic contest, probably paralleling the shift from manual to the non-manual occupations; from the industrial to the computer society. The sales of strategy, card, fantasy and video games has risen steadily over the past 50 years as a proportionate share of the market of recreation.

What we have to report here, as with games of strategy, is the gradual development of collaboratively or feministically oriented research which is whittling away at the dominantly instrumental ways in which these games have been considered in earlier literature (Avedon and Sutton-Smith, 1971). In a sense, some of this attenuation has already occurred with the strategy games of the last section. Where games are played which allow either more competitive or more collaborative strategies to be used. By and large third world players, rural players, oral culture players, as compared with urban and literate major world cultures, choose the more co-operative over the more competitive strategies (Glassford, 1976). The interpretation to be put on these findings, is, of course, open. It is possible to see collaboration as the more backward or primitive form of play or alternatively to see it as the more rational and sensible form, given the state of the modern world, or thirdly, simply to enjoy in it a nostalgia for the more gemeinschaft or tender hearted states of earlier culture in our midst.

Similarly, in physical skill games there is currently an attempt to suggest that classic interpretations of sex differences may have been incorrectly interpreted (Sutton-Smith, 1979). The classic differences are as follows:

A number of investigators (Lehmann and Witty, 1927; Eifermann, 1971; Lever, 1976) have described boys' games as showing a greater emphasis on the following than girls' games:

bodily strength and bodily contact
a continuous flow of activity
motor activity involving the whole body
the use of larger spaces and the outdoors
fantasied or actual conflict between groups or teams
success achieved through active interference with the other player
well defined outcomes, with winners and losers clearly labeled
players in larger groups
games that last longer
more age-heterogeneous groups

Lever (1976) has argued that the listing of these characteristics is another way of saying that boys' games provide them with learning environments of greater complexity. Their games contain significantly more role differentiation, interdependence of players, larger-sized groups, competitiveness and goal explicitness, rule specifications, and team formations, all of which are characteristics of more complex forms of social organization.

If, by contrast, we compare the characteristic games of girls, we find them described as showing more:

turn taking in ordered sequences
choral activity, songs, and rhymes
rhythm and words
stages in play that are multiple and well defined
competition that is indirect
a multiplicity of rules dictating every move
only parts of the body that are involved
solitary practice
competition between individuals not between groups

As Lever (1976) interpreted these characteristics, the boys are being prepared for roles in the larger, complex institutions of society and the girls are being prepared for roles in intimate or familial, small-group relationships. Lever said,

"A girl engaged in pastimes with one of a series of 'best friends' may be gaining training appropriate for later dating experience of serial monogamy where *sensitivity to a particular other* is called for, but she is less likely than her sports-oriented brother to learn organizationally relevant skills. . . . Boys learn the ability to take the role of the *generalized other*, whereas girls

develop empathy to take the role of the *particular other.*"

Gilligan (1982) is somewhat skeptical of Lever's interpretations of the play of boys and girls, and she has good reason to be. Cristine Von Glascoe, for example, describes in an intensive study of a group of girls playing the game Redlight, in which a group of players tries to creep up behind the back of one standing out in front of them in order to touch her on the back without being seen, and then take her place (1980). She describes some of the interactions as follows:

"When disputes arise between director and other players, the game of 'Redlight' stops. A second game, which concerns dispute settlement, is substituted in its place. This interior game I refer to as 'Redlight II.' The substantive nature of these disputes addresses the question of whether or not the director observed some player to move during the no-go condition. A surprising order of philosophical inquiry emerges in the course of such debates. Arguments are grounded in terms of player-members doctrines about intentional acts, unconscious acts, accidental acts, goal directedness of acts and fate-determined acts. A summary of directors' acts is expressed in the following paradigm: I saw you move, and your move was intentional and goal oriented, therefore you must return to the start line. A summary of the player's response would be. I didn't move, and if I did it wasn't goal directed, and if it was goal directed and intentional, you didn't see me."

By this account, the girls in "Redlight" are learning how to be lawyers or philosophers. One gets from this description the feeling that girls' apparently low level ability in negotiations and complex play may have been falsely stated.

My colleague, Dr. Linda Hughes, set out to investigate these matters by studying girls playing a game called Four Square, over a period of several years. Like the earlier one child study of Diana Kelly-Byrne, this was again an intensive ethnographic study conducted over a long period of time. What she discovered was that the interpretation of games simply by reading of their action rules, as Roberts and I had done in our cross cultural work, and as have most investigators in game interpretation, reveals almost nothing about the utility of the games to the players. What she described was an apparently simple game in which a ball is bounced around four squares from player to player, one on each of the squares so that the players missing the ball goes out joining the line of waiting players who move up one notch, the first in line now joining the play in the bottom square. The player in the top square is the King. Judged by these action rules the play of these girls is quite simple. Long term observation and interviews however established that players actually played the game by another code of rules which were announced by and could change from leading player to leading player in a variety of ways. This code was essentially an etiquettical code about the manner of play varying at one extreme between being nasty to another extreme of being nice. In general, play had to seem to be nice. Anyone putting out another player in an aggressive manner would be seen as nasty, and the shot could be played over on protest by the offended player. However, if someone seemed nice while playing an aggressive shot, she would be upheld by the others and the offended player would have to retire. While there were many balances of nice/nasty manner, the game in this group had as much to do with maintaining this esprit de corp as with winning the contest. In addition to this code, however, there was yet another which had to do with each sub group's attempt to maintain their own best friends on the square. This was the collegial code which has been shown to dominate play, as for example, in the classic work of W.F. Whyte "Street Corner Society" (1943), in which the outcome of the games was more closely related to the sociometric power ranking of the players than to their actual skill at the game.

Similarly in these girls' play, they constantly maneuvered to get their own friends on the square, while appearing not to do anything of the sort. In short, there was complicitous agreements to treat out group members to nasty shots, but only in a delayed manner, and in a disguised way, so that they could not be accused of so doing by members of other claques. The girls playing these games then were (1) playing the game (2) maintaining a public code of pleasant and friendly procedures (3) while privately seeking to favor their own claques.

The praxis of these girls with their interest in preserving both a code of collaboration and yet also serving the special interests of their intimate friends is the very opposite of the code which supposedly governs competitive games where all are supposed to be equal before the laws of action. It is not surprising perhaps that Lever, by assuming the relevance of the latter code to male dominant society, called girls short for their inferiorities at that kind of play. And yet the praxis of these girls, like the praxis of those who play strategic games collaboratively, like the praxis of those who throughout many oral societies prefer collaborative to competitive games, like the praxis of those who want to think of play as a sphere of freedom and imagination, mastery and collaboration, rather than a sphere of irrationality or contest, all derives from a fundamentally different rhetoric of life, more ancient, more feminine, and more communal.

Conclusion

I have presented you with an opposition of metaphors betweeen play seen as a manifestation of:

freedom
imagination
mastery
collaboration

and games as a manifestation of:

irrationality
strategic contest
physical contest

I have attempted to show the culture centric character of all of these concepts; and in addition suggest that they are themselves a part of the ideological play of larger social conflicts between:

female	male
communal	individualistic
peaceful	warlike
gemeinschaft	gesellschaft

In all of this I agree with Kenneth Burke's view that the play and games we know in this world are largely delivered to us wrapped in rhetoric. The boundaries have been drawn for us since the Greeks but in the past two hundred years the dialectic between play and games has become more insistent, the researchers on each doing the kind of research that justifies their own metaphysical stance. Clearly the statement in my introduction that life is a game is a reassertion of hegemony by the gamers.

But my major methodological point must be an advocacy of the more far reaching kind of research that I have advocated here. It does not pay to treat either play or games in isolation from the surrounding ideologies and practices if we are to understand their contingent roles. Though neither play nor games may lend themselves easily to universal meaning, they are nevertheless heavily indebted to history, and studies which do not take that historical context into account are likely to be particularly artificial.

On the practical level the early childhood practitioner who is caught up in only one or other of these broader contexts of play is likely to make important practical mistakes. Play is not to be confused with mastery, with exploration or with imagination. Education needs to be concerned with all of these other ways in which young children manifest their intelligence. But to conflate play with these, is probably to deny to play its own sphere for children to exercise their interests in the irrational, the deceptive and the contestive. As these latter kinds of play are not as pleasant as those which we usually prefer to supervise and constrain, (the free, the imaginative, the masterful, and the collaborative) by calling play these other forms of intelligence it can be cut from education. And yet the historical power of these various play forms strongly suggests the continuing need of all children for their play space free from us where they can work out their destinies alone and together without too much interference (short of ensuring their safety).

We need to think of play, therefore, not as necessarily free, irrational, deceptive, contestive, free, creative, masterful or collaborative, but basically as a kind of language with which individuals and groups communicate with their own deeper feelings. Play is neither good nor bad in its own right, but like eating and exercise is necessary for the health of the organism. If this vital communicative function is to continue to serve the emotional health of children, it needs to be kept free from us whatever freedom it may or may not give to children.

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ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD

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Providing children with basic art concepts early in their development gives them the basis for better understanding of art principles and design concepts at a later age. Generally speaking, babies, exposed to colorful objects that move, tend to develop their awareness capabilities earlier than babies who are raised without such sensory stimulating items. The key to early childhood art development is in the way the senses are stimulated and the activities used to bring about the stimulation.

When dealing with the sensitivity of the preschooler, care must be taken to avoid hindering aesthetic growth. The development of the senses and basic art concepts is often attempted by using methods that stress the use of materials in a pattern oriented way. These methods have the child cut, paste, fold and bend according to the directions given by the instructor. Often the end result is one that looks similar to what fellow classmates have done. Other methods have the child fill-in color on hand-outs that look like pages from a coloring book. Methods such as these do nothing for the artistic development of the child, in fact, they interfere with the child's artistic development. Often these damaging activities have a long range effect on the child. When challenged later to perform in a creative way the child holds back for instruction on how to do so.

A better more effective way to bring about developed sensory awareness and creative understanding of the art elements and design concepts is through a well developed art education program. An art education program is a continuous life long learning experience. It involves not only working with various media, but also, appreciation of art fundamentals, an understanding of who artists are, and why they do what they do. It also includes teaching children how to make judgements about their own work as well as the work of others.

The start of an art education program begins with the baby in the crib playing with the colorful moving object. The child's senses are like a sponge soaking in all it can to be used at a later time. Colorful environments are given credit for not only a heightened awareness of color but also towards an influencing of I.Q. growth.

Various philosophies exist in regard to artistic development. The two main points of view which seem clearly defined are: (a) the child will develop skills and understanding of artistic expression through natural means. (The child simply needs to have tools and materials provided), and (b) artistic growth can be aided with a well developed art education program providing direction and training.

Current thinking and evidence have shown that children raised in an environment where they are challenged, stimulated and given direction as well as training are further ahead than the child who progresses through natural means alone. Children who have explored materials come to the pre-school program or kindergarten further advanced in their artistic development than the child who had little or no experience working with materials.

Before an art education program can be developed there needs to be an awareness of the various stages of artistic development. These stages have been observed, studied and fully researched by such greats as Piaget, Lowenfeld and Kellog.

The first stage is often referred to as the *Scribble or Manipulative Stage*. The age range in this stage begins around the first year and runs through the fourth year. Obviously these age ranges are for reference only. Some children will travel through the stages quickly and others more slowly. Children begin to express themselves early by doing such things as making lines through their food while sitting in the high-chair or by smearing and marking the wall behind. Children's first attempts at using crayons, pencils, or other similar type of markers, tend to be marks made by swinging the

arms back and forth. This is sometimes done in a continuous manner even while the child may look away. These marks have no real visual meaning, but, are simply an outcome of the child's physical and psychological development. The child makes the lines because there is enjoyment in doing so. During this early stage the marks can go in many directions depending upon the position of the child, whether on the floor or sitting at a table. How the marking tool is held will also effect the types of marks made. Although these lines appear to be meaningless to the adult they are an important part of a child's aesthetic development. It is interesting to note that all children, no matter what their nationality, begin their artistic expression in the same way.

During the enthusiastic discovery that certain things make marks, a child in this stage will many times create marks on surfaces not intended to be marked. Often the value of the child's scribbling and marking is lost to the adult and sometimes efforts are made to prevent the child from doing what is natural. Parents who find their two year old marking the wall or furniture are relieved to see the child pass from this stage. It is during this stage that the child learns that marking is a way of changing the environment and by holding a tool and waving the arms a change is made. Unlike the making of sounds, which come and go, the marks are there to be seen and added to. This is a major concept to be learned by the child; one that forms the foundation for further drawing to come.

In about six months after the child has begun to scribble, control is demonstrated and marks are made the way they are wanted. When given the chance to select from several marking colors, the child seems to randomly pick a color. Children of this age vary in where their markings appear on a paper. Some prefer to scribble in the upper corners, others in the center or lower corners or in various other locations and directions on the paper. Because there is now more coordination between their visual and motor development, most children seem to spend more time manipulating their marks. It is not unusual to see a child preoccupied for a half hour or more trying out new colors and new lines. This is also a time for experimenting on how to hold the marking tool. The child's marks now become much more complex. There often is a discovery by the child that relates to the marks on the paper and to some item in the child's environment. Although there is no apparent visual relationship between the object and the marking, the fact that the child is beginning to equate the drawn marks with objects in the environment is a sign of further intellectual and artistic development. This begins the moment when the difference between making marks randomly and a more controlled marking begins to take place. When the child begins to realize his/her ability to control the line patterns, there is a period of intense excitement. It is during this time that the child will want to share this newly found ability with an adult. This makes the role of the parent or other adult approached an important one. The image made by the child is of little importance during this time, but recognition of the child's excitement and sharing by reflecting a similar response is helpful in the child's development.

The next step in the child's development begins when the child's thinking starts to change from the simple enjoyment of making lines and movement to that of imaginative thinking. It is at this point, around the age of three to four, that the child verbalizes the scribbled images. This is usually done in two substages. In the first, the child makes a scribble and then begins to describe what the scribble is (the dog, momma, daddy, etc.). This is another extremely important development. When the child verbalizes about the scribblings, it shows that the child is beginning to think in terms of mental pictures. It is a time in the child's life that the parent should record and celebrate. Unfortunately, unlike the first word or first step, it is often over looked. The reason for its importance is that the moment the child begins to think and function by making marks that reflect a specific thinking, the child now has demonstrated abilities that identify a human being as far above other animals. The child's invention of graphic symbols and the use of these symbols far outranks taking a first step or uttering the first word.

In the second substage, the child tells what he/she is going to make a "picture" of and then proceeds to scribble. The scribble symbol used in the naming is usually a circular one which often appears among linear patterns. These

circles are pointed to or drawn as part of the discussion as to what they are or what they may stand for. The drawings do not appear much different from earlier scribbles; however, the child now draws with a specific intent where as before the scribbles were unrelated.

Children who are three and a half usually have arrived at the stage of naming the scribble. This arrival time is dependent on factors of maturity and environmental influence. Much also depends upon how much opportunity the child has had to experiment with different materials. The child, who has a well rounded pre-school experience which includes working with a variety of marking materials and encouragement to create, will begin kindergarten far ahead of others who have not had this background. As a child continues to progress in ability to manipulate and control scribbles, he/she begins to find more and more meaning in the images created. Adults looking at the same scribble may see something entirely different from what the child sees. There is a danger in the adult trying to give an interpretation to the scribble or placing the child in a situation where he/she feels compelled to name or describe what the marks are. Adults, when given the opportunity, should encourage the child to continue with his/her new found abilities and avoid adult conceptual influence.

It is interesting to note that most children and most adults tend to revert to scribbling when trying out a new marking device such as a ball point pen or a felt marker. In some respects, adults never leave the scribble stage entirely.

The second major stage is referred to as the *Pre-Idea or Symbol Forming Stage*. This occurs around the age of four through seven. The child enters this stage when the scribble has taken on circular shapes with lines intersecting or dangling from them. Eventually the child begins to use these shapes as symbols for various things. Often the symbol "the cat" may also be the symbol for "the house". There seems to be no true distinction for some of these early symbols. They tend to be interchangable and represent many things. This phenomena is similar to the child who learns the word "kitty" and uses it not only for the house cat but, also, for the neighbor's dog and any other four legged animal. The child learns new words when the parent explains that the dog is "dog" not "kitty". In the same way, as the child experiments with new symbols and adds more lines to the circular shape a new graphic language begins to take form allowing the child a bigger format for expression.

The earliest form in this stage is usually that of a circle with lines hanging down. Often the child refers to this form as "mommy" or "daddy". Various experts have given reasons as to why the child tends to choose to draw and associate certain ideas with this symbol. Most, who have worked with children, agree that the child of this age has a fairly good concept of the human body in that it knows that arms and legs do not come out of heads. The reason a child uses this symbol is that the circle stands for the entire body not just the head. If the symbol is viewed in this way, there is little difficulty in understanding why the arms and legs appear to radiate from the head. Symbols, used by a child to express certain concepts or things, are representational and as a result they may stand for something that looks entirely different in reality. The symbol constantly changes as the child continues to mature. When two circles are used, one for the head and the other for the body, rapid changes begin to occur. Now the child has a shape that can be changed to stand for a man or woman. Eyes, nose, ears, and hair begin to be more than simple slash marks on a large circle. At first these facial characteristics are simple, but as the child's perceptions mature the marks relate more to the object they are to represent. Body parts such as arms, legs, and feet also become more meaningfully described. Depending upon the perception of the child, hands begin to have five fingers clearly defined. It is important to realize that this stage is characterized by the child's constant search for new symbols to be used to express all the new and wonderful things that are being discovered.

Choice of colors used by children in this stage seems to have little relationship to the subject drawn. The child's full attention and interest seems to be in relating the drawing to objects. Color is selected on the basis of interest to the child rather than on the relationship of the color to the object being drawn. It is important that the child be given opportunities to experiment with color so that when the desire to relate color to the object occurs there will be a

compatible relationship to the object and its natural color.

A child usually develops more than one category of symbols at a time. Much depends upon the rate of growth the child goes through and the opportunities that are available to the child to perceive different objects as new symbols for drawing. When the child begins to make a composition, which involves two or more symbols related to the same thought, it demonstrates having reached a new level of visual communication. Unfortunately, this is the time when the symbols begin to appear somewhat meaningful to adults who want to help the child improve on the imagery. During this time, the child's image making ability is at a very crucial stage. When adults try to help by showing how to make stick figures, or how to draw things "better", or by having the child use color-in figures, a tremendous handicap is presented to the child. These anti-art methods interfere with the child's own concepts of what the image should be. When these types of negative interruptions occur, there is a tendency on the part of the child to accept the adult image or way of doing as the right way and their own way as being wrong. As a result, there is a mental block that may end up in delaying the child's development in symbol making.

The more details a child shows in a drawing the more aware the child is of his/her surroundings. The child who repeats the same symbol over and over is, generally speaking, one who is more withdrawn and perhaps more insecure. Other children react towards an experience that is emotionally stimulating by drawing a sensitive reactive picture. The advantage of pictures drawn by a child over words used by a child is that words can often fool the listener into thinking the child understands more than he/she does. Pictures, on the other hand, give us a precise understanding of how far the child has developed in the understanding of the surrounding environment.

An art education program for pre-school children needs to involve an understanding of children as they evolve through the stages of artistic development. Programs designed to heighten children's awareness of their environment are important to the symbol development of each child. Activities that bring into play the various art elements of line, texture, color, and shape will provide a rich background for children's future artistic development. Although they may not understand the work of the recognized artist, pre-schoolers can benefit looking at and discussing the work of these artists. Works of artists such as Klee, Matise, and Rouault seem to have appeal to the preschooler. Discussing the work of artists such as these with attention given to the shapes, colors and themes of the work gives children a chance to expand their visual experience.

Two and three dimensional activities should be such as to allow the individual child a chance to use whatever symbols are at his/her command. Care should be taken to avoid using anti-art techniques. Coloring book approaches and "follow the pattern" types of activities are harmful to the child who is in the process of developing visual symbols. A show and tell after an activity gives each child a chance to respond verbally about the work thus expanding the child's ability to see what has been accomplished. Discussions of this type also provide the basis for future understanding of the art work of others.

These early years are very important to children not only because of artistic development but also because of self-attitudes based on their accomplishments. Attitudes of oneself are also based on the sensed attitudes of others around them. The young child is no exception. The attitude of parents and teachers towards the accomplishments of the young child will give that child feelings of security or insecurity depending upon the sensitivity of the adults. The task of each of us who works with young children is to first understand as much as possible about how children develop and then work with that understanding to bring about the best possible effects.

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HOLISTIC WELLNESS FOR TEACHERS

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This paper is being written to give teachers and other human service professionals who work with kids some ideas about holistic wellness, total-person integration, in order for them to be able to take the steps necessary to better themselves so that they may consistently be operating at high levels. It is the contention of the author that the higher levels teachers operate on, the higher levels their students will operate on. A good deal of research data backs up this contention. (Carkhuff, Aspy, Roebuck et.al. 1961, 1968, 1975, 1981, 1985)

One way of looking at high-level, holistic wellness is to use the analogy of people being like fine sports cars with magnificent engines. Most of us work well enough that we can get started and out of our garages each morning, but rarely do we motivate at the level for which we are built. It is as though we are running on two or three cylinders. Sometimes we are aware that things are not quite right, but lacking an owners manual, we are not quite sure what to do in order to make things right. We may have memories of those special days, or periods within a day when everything was hitting on all cylinders. What a wonderful time that was. But how to get back to it? Understanding the basics of the holistic approach to wellness will help.

A human being can be looked at from different compartmental points of view. The one "compartment" we are all very familiar with is the physical. We are beings with bodies. We are not just bodies; indeed there are times when many of us may think our bodies do not really belong to us, but there is just no getting around the physical dimension of human being in the world. Beyond that however, we are beings who have intellects, and beings who emote, and we are social beings. Finally, we are spiritual beings. So, we have these five compartments: physical, intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual.

There is a great amount of information current on how to get the physical self to operate on higher levels. Much of the literature is basically similar, because the facts at the physical level are somewhat simple. We would like to complicate it, find shortcuts and miracle breakthroughs, but these come rarely. In order to function well, the body needs to be exercised . . . regularly. What that means is that three or four times a week we need to be doing some activity for twenty and thirty minutes that gets the engine running somewhere between sixty and eighty percent of maximum. We can walk briskly, jog, skip rope, dance vigorously, swim, cross country ski, ride a bike or find some other activity that will get the heart to an "aerobic" range and keep it there for long enough to get a training effect. The easiest way to know what the target range is, is to subtract your age from 220, and then take sixty to eighty percent of that. That is the number the pulse needs to be at during the exercise for the twenty to thirty sustained minutes.

Beyond that we need to put decent fuel into our magnificent machines in order to maximize the engine's peak performance. There are few areas of greater controversy than optimum nutrition, and individual needs are somewhat different; but with that being said, most Americans are eating too much fat by far, too much read meat and protein in general, not enough complex carbohydrate in the form of fresh fruits and vegetables, too much refined sugar and salt . . . and we eat too quickly and with too much stress while we eat. Most of us can learn to begin to modify our eating habits toward more healthy ones, avoid fads and miracle cures, listen to what makes us feel good . . . truly. There are times when some of us may say that we crave ice cream, lots of ice cream. We may want it, but we most probably do not need it, although we may need complex carbohydrate, milk, calcium or some other component of ice cream. The key word is of course, moderation.

To develop to our optimum intellectually turns out to not be that much different from

developing physically. We need to form a regular discipline, follow some simple rules, and do it. For most of us we are going to *some day* work to maximize our intellectual selves. "We want to begin at the 'right' time and place—which usually turns out to be some time in the future and someplace else." (CHOP WOOD, CARRY WATER, Felds et.al., p. 9.) So we begin.

Perhaps we take an hour out of our busy days for special reading that we have been putting off. Where do we get an extra hour a day? Perhaps we get up earlier in the morning, necessitating going to bed a bit earlier and taking better care of ourselves physically. The physical and the intellectual go together and "bootstrap" one another. That is, as we become more physically fit, we have more energy to devote to other activities, finding that the quality of our sleep improves, and thus needing a bit less.

We may begin taking regular library visits, listening to lectures on audio cassette, taking classes again at the college or university, forming a reading group with friends or colleagues, deciding on family topics for discussion. The ideas for intellectual growth are endless. What is required is the discipline to get out and do it day after day. For many runners the very hardest thing to do each day is to get out the door to begin the run. Most find that once they are over that hurdle, the rest is somewhat easier. Rarely does a person finish a run without having more energy, without feeling good that she has made the effort and accomplished this goal. The same is true with the intellectual pursuits, but it takes "getting out the door."

Emotional growth follows the same format. We develop the discipline to do the growing that we know is necessary. The discipline gives us the habits which then can make it second nature. For many of us, emotional growth and intellectual growth are coupled. We do the reading about relationships, love, empathy, giving, compassion; and then we discuss, ruminate, struggle, develop "habits of the heart."

And so with social growth. For so many of us, however, spiritual growth is somewhat less well known and more mysterious. Therefore, the rest of this paper will concern itself with practical aspects of spiritual growth.

CHOP WOOD, CARRY WATER, A Guide to Finding Life lists thirteen steps to keeping perspective along the path to spiritual growth. These steps can be a wonderful beginning point for someone who is looking to jump into the sometimes swift waters of spirituality without getting drowned.

1. Each stage that one can label must pass away. Even the labeling will ultimately pass. A person who says, "I'm enlightened" probably isn't.
2. The initial euphoria will pass away. There may well be a sense of loss after it passes. That too passes.
3. Each new height is usually followed by a new low. Understanding this makes it a bit easier to ride the roller coaster.
4. As you further purify yourself, your impurities will seem grosser and larger.
5. At first you will think that your spirituality is a limited part of your life. In time you will realize it encompasses everything.
6. One of the traps is the trap of purity. In time you will think you are really pretty pure. Do not believe it.
7. Early on you will wonder how long the journey will take. Later you will understand that where you are going is HERE and you will arrive NOW.
8. At first you try. Later you just do it because, "What else is there to do?"
9. Taking oneself too seriously is not good. "Cosmic humor", especially about your own predicament, is an important part of your journey.
10. At some stages you will experience a plateau—as if everything has stopped. Know that once the process has started, it does not stop. Just keep going.
11. You many have expected that enlightenment would come ZAP! instantaneous and permanent. That is unlikely. After the first "ah ha" experience, the unfolding is gradual and almost indiscernible.

12. There is, in addition to the "up and down" cycles, an "in and out" cycle. There are times when you will want to be doing inner work, and there will be times when you are drawn to others, to be involved "in the marketplace."

13. What is happening to you is nothing less than death and rebirth. What is dying is the you who knew who you are and how it all is and what is being reborn is the child of the Spirit for whom all things are new. This process of attending an ego that is dying at the same time as you are going through a birth process is awesome. Be gentle and honor the self who is dying, as well as the Self who is being born.

So with these thirteen steps one can begin a disciplined journey into the spiritual dimension. The spiritual dimension, like each of the others need not be overwhelming or mysterious. What is involved is a daily commitment to "get out the door" and do what is required.

What can an educator who is holistically seeking wellness expect of herself? How might she see the changes, and how might a friend or colleague notice differences? The changes are sometimes quite subtle, but they become substantial over time. One of the most obvious changes one can look for in oneself is energy levels. Energy increases. A person who is exercising regularly and eating sensibly almost invariably has a higher sense of self esteem, more get up and go, does more things. Students notice it, colleagues notice it. Very often people need less sleep, have a greater attention span, are more cheerful.

People who are intellectually and emotionally growing have more to talk about. They are less likely to recite tired platitudes. They have new ones. There is an excitement which permeates a person of any age who realizes that growth need not stop, that growth can continue forever. Very often the intellectual and emotional growth leads to action steps which have the person involved with others in ways different from before. People notice that.

Spiritual growth very often leads to a change of perspective, a new way of seeing the world. Again, often not dramatic . . . although sometimes it is. When all of these changes are added together, they make for substantial growth in a human's being. One is truly on the path to wellness, and that person and all others who come in contact with that person, are better for it.

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HEALTH EDUCATION FOR PRESCHOOLERS

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Health education has been defined as the process of providing learning experiences designed to facilitate voluntary adaptation of behaviors conducive to health. Teachers and staff can directly educate preschoolers in the many content areas of health education such as nutrition, fitness, and dental health. They can also lay the groundwork for a lifetime of better health for their students. The total school health program has two other components that contribute to health promotion and protection at the school site. These other components include providing a healthful school environment and health services. The three phases of the school health program will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Some suggestions will be made as to how the preschool educator can accomplish the goals of such a complete program. Special attention will then be given to providing health education experiences for preschoolers and selected unique curricula will be discussed.

A healthful school environment sets the tone for all other health related activities that take place at school. That means that the entire building, individual classrooms, and the outside play areas must be safe and free from hazards. It also means that the mental environment is healthy. The rights and dignity of each pupil and teacher are respected. All teachers are in good physical and mental health. Also such mundane items as scheduling and time allotments for both teachers and pupils have been planned with the physical and mental health of each in mind. Fire prevention plans and emergency drill procedures are known by all employees.

The basic responsibility for the health of any child belongs to the parents, but teachers can play an important role in assisting parents through the provision of a few health services at school. These services include observation, record-keeping, referral, and follow-up. Teachers can screen students' vision, hearing, dental health, posture, etc., and then notify parents of suspected problems. Teachers also must be involved in preventing the spread of disease and in providing first aid to injured students. Finally, teachers must provide remedial services as needed by handicapped students.

The goal of the third phase of the school health program, health education, is to guide young children towards the lasting acquisition of healthful living practices and habits. Teachers could also help children to learn how to make sensible health decisions in the future. The success of health education, however, will not be measured in the classroom but in after school home life and play time.

Health education is a required component of Head Start programs. Therefore, many groups of researchers and teachers have attempted to identify the content areas and learning objectives for preschool health education. The content areas should include: 1) growth and development; 2) community health management; 3) personal health; 4) safety and first aid; 5) nutrition; 6) consumer health; 7) family life and health; 8) mental and emotional health; 9) disease prevention and control; 10) drug use and abuse; and 11) death education. (See Table 1). The scope and sequence of the curriculum that could be developed from these content areas will depend on the nature of the individual preschoolers. The learning objectives that could be identified would also reflect the specific student population. A few selected objectives from the above content areas might include: 1) The children should be able to explain that all children grow and develop in their own way; 2) The children should be able to describe what they can do to help keep their classroom, playground, and home clean; 3) The students should be able to identify nutritious food snacks when given a choice; and 4) The students should be able to explain that the person or pet that dies will not come back (Hendricks, 1984).

TABLE 1
HEALTH EDUCATION OBJECTIVES FOR PRESCHOOLERS**

Table I

A. Growth and Development
1. The children should be able to identify the body parts that are primarily associated with the five senses.
2. The children should be able to explain that all children grow and develop in their own way.

B. Community Health Management
1. The children should be able to identify people and places that contribute to good health.
2. The children should be able to describe what they can do to help keep their classroom, playground, and home clean.

C. Personal Health
1. The children should be able to demonstrate how to wash their hands.
2. The children should be able to tell the parents or teachers if they hurt.
3. The children should be able to demonstrate correct toothbrushing techniques.
4. The children should be able to identify appropriate clothing for weather conditions.

D. Safety and First Aid
1. The children should be able to identify the colors of traffic lights and explain the meaning of traffic lights and signs.
2. The children should be able to identify the roles of community safety personnel.
3. The children should be able to describe the school safety rules correctly.
4. The children should be able to identify various food and non-food items.

E. Nutrition
1. The children should be able to identify nutritious food snacks when given a choice.
2. The children should be able to identify various foods in relation to the basic four food groups.

F. Consumer Health
1. The children should be able to explain that advertisements are for selling products.
2. The children should be able to select products from advertising pictures that are harmful to one's health.

G. Family Life and Health
1. The children should be able to identify ways of being helpful at home.
2. The children should be able to identify their family members and roles.

H. Mental and Emotional Health
1. The children should be able to identify the emotions of anger, happiness, sadness, love, and fear.
2. The children should be able to identify appropriate and inappropriate social behavior.
3. The children should be able to demonstrate appropriate care for pets.

I. Disease Prevention and Control
1. The children should be able to state the importance of covering your mouth and/ or nose before coughing or sneezing.
2. The children should be able to demonstrate the correct way for nose blowing.
3. The children should be able to state that immunizations protect us against some diseases.

J. Drug Use and Abuse
1. The children should be able to explain when it is appropriate to take medicines.
2. The children should be able to identify harmful effects of smoking.
3. The children should be able to identify harmful effects of alcohol abuse.

K. Death Education
1. The children should be able to explain that the person or pet that dies will not come back.
2. The children should be able to explain that it is okay to feel sad when someone or something dies.

**Hendricks, C.M. (1984). Development of a comprehensive health curriculum for head start. *Health Education*, Mar/Apr., 28-31.

Children can assume responsibility for some parts of their personal wellness and illness. However, the concepts of health, wellness, or illness are difficult abstractions and must be related to real life experiences. The development of these concepts proceeds along the same cognitive paths as other types of abstract thinking. Children have to be given time to grow in their understanding health. Experiential learning activities should, therefore, be the major emphasis on health education for preschoolers.

Four unique curricula have been recently developed which could be used in teaching about health. Three of these are comprehensive and sequential — *Hale and Hardy's Helpful Health Hints; Growing Healthy, Kindergarten Level;* and *Ready, Set, Grow!* The American Heart Association has tested and begun to distribute *Heart Treasure Chest*, which is experiential but not comprehensive. Each of these will be discussed and ordering information provided in the following paragraphs.

Hale and Hardy's Helpful Health Hints was developed and tested with Head Start students. It includes the 11 content areas identified previously. Table 1 presents the complete health education objectives for this curriculum. The major characters, Hale and Hardy, are gender neutral elves who explore the various health issues. It can be obtained from the Barren River District Health Department, P.O. Box 1157, Bowling Green, KY 42101 (Hendricks, 1984).

The nationally validated curriculum, *Growing Healthy*, has a kindergarten level. This curriculum is listed in the U.S. Department of Education's National Diffusion Network. That means that the curriculum's objectives have been tested and the effectiveness of the program has been proven. The content for kindergarten includes senses and emotions; health helpers; teeth; problems that can occur without sleep, rest, care, good health habits, and safety; and caring and concerns for others, expressing emotions and feelings. Teachers must attend training sessions to learn to use this well organized, sequential activity format. Information about *Growing Healthy* may be obtained from your local American Lung Association chapter.

Paula J. Peterson, health educator, has developed another comprehensive health education curriculum for 3-5 year olds. It was field tested in the St. Paul, Minnesota, Head Start Program, home day care, and in preschool centers. As a result of the implementation of *Ready, Set, Grow!*, children in the experimental group showed a significant improvement in health awareness and knowledge when compared to children in the control group. The content of this curriculum is broken into four areas: physical health, mental health, family living, and safety. Each lesson plan includes behavioral objectives; background information on each topic; a list of necessary materials and supplies; songs, poems, rhythic activities; detailed instructions; a parent/ child activity; and patterns, worksheets and parent letters for duplication. Information about training workshops and/or purchasing the curriculum guide can be obtained by writing to *Ready, Set, Grow!* P.O. Box 75991, St. Paul, MN 55175.

Another interesting and experientially planned curriculum is *Heart Treasure Chest* from the American Heart Association. The content areas included are related to the heart's structure and function, good nutrition, and fitness. Many different experiments and learning stations can be set up using the equipment, posters, and cards provided. The *Heart Treasure Chest* may be borrowed or purchased from a local affiliate of the American Heart Association. Training for use of the materials can also be arranged from AHA local affiliate staff or volunteers.

Several other voluntary health associations have educational materials that may be used or adapted for use with preschoolers. These include the American Dental Association, the American Cancer Society, and the American Red Cross. Contact your local or state affiliate to request copies of free or inexpensive materials.

Preschoolers have a great need for health education. The content of health education is also very interesting to young children, and they will be motivated to learn using the experiential activities identified in various curricula. The total school health program—education, services, and environment—can be addressed at the early childhood center setting with some possible lasting improvements in health. With some thoughtful planning and implementation by early childhood educators now, a new generation of adults with high level wellness can become a reality for the future.

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WHAT CAN I DO FOR THE ABUSED CHILD?

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In a discourse on abused children, we must first define what we mean by the term abuse. In this instance we will use a very inclusive definition:

Physical abuse—Battering, choking, slapping, shaking, hair pulling, beating, biting, etc. . . .

Mental or Emotional abuse—Name calling, berating, shaming, or anything that erodes self worth.

Sexual abuse—Incest (abuse from inside the family), molesting (abuse from outside the family).

Neglect—Omission of proper physical care (food, shelter, clothing, cleanliness), omission of proper emotional care (time, nuturing, conversation, etc. . . .).

Of these four forms of abuse, neglect is often the most difficult to deal with. Neglect can make children feel as if they are nonexistent or totally worthless. Also, substantiating neglect reports, so the family can get help, is very difficult.

VICTIMS

The movie "Victims," created and distributed by The Independent Order of Foresters, supplies us with a good overview of what abuse is, what the long term results of untreated abuse can be, the value of early intervention and prevention, and, most importantly, how a team effort can be a successful way of dealing with abuse. Ideas from this film will be used throughout this paper.

IDENTIFYING ABUSE

The very first step toward helping an abused child is to find the child. There are many indicators that abuse may be occurring. Ten of the more common indicators to aid a caregiver in identifying an abused child, are as follows:

1. Low self esteem: "I'm bad," "I'm worthless," "I can't do anything right."
2. Lack of trust: "Don't touch me," "I won't talk to you," "I won't eat here."
3. Physical marks and reactions: broken bones, bruises, burns, stomach cramps, flinch reactions.
4. Emotional ills: nightmares, unreasonable fears (water, loud noises, kitchen tools).
5. Violent or highly aggressive behavior: biting, hitting, kicking, etc.
6. Regressive behavior: *return* to thumb sucking, wetting, fetal position, clinging.
7. Inability to show pleasure or to enjoy play.
8. Provocative behavior: for example, a child may try to get an adult to hit him/her or a child may sexually approach adults.
9. Family trauma: house fire, severe illness, death, parent separation.
10. Noticeable parent problems: extreme immaturity, lack of knowledge of age, appropriate behavior and/or proper care techniques, excessively strict or demanding parent.

No one of these signs alone are "proof" of abuse, but if we are seeing one or more, to a significant degree, we need to observe and question the situation more closely.

INTERVENTION

If our suspicions of abuse are strong, that is, if what we see is giving us that "oh oh" feeling, we need to act. A call to the Initial Intervention Unit (I.I. Unit) of your local County Social Service Department, is an informative and helpful first step. They welcome calls from people who say, "That is what I'm seeing. What do you think?" Their staff has the expertise to help us analyze our facts and decide if this situation should be reported.

We are mandated by law to report any strong suspicions of abuse. The I.I. Unit is the place to make our initial report of suspected abuse. Your name will be held in confidence and you may receive a brief summary of what action

was taken, if you call the I.I. Unit 48 or more hours after your report.

A typical abuse call is first handled by a screener who discusses the facts with the unit. They decide if there's eminent danger to the child. All abuse investigations are conducted in conjunction with the police. If there isn't eminent danger, the I.I. personnel interview the child, preferably at school, day care, or another place away from the abuser. The I.I. personnel must then contact and interview the parent. After this they file a disposition on the case and several different courses may be taken such as criminal prosecution, removal of the child from the home, court ordered treatment, the case may be dropped, or the family put in touch with sources of help.

The I.I. Unit wears two hats: one as the investigator to find out if abuse is occurring, the other as the facilitator for getting families in touch with the help they need.

Early identification and intervention is one of the keys in successfully dealing with abuse.

WHAT CAN I DO?

When a child has been identified as abused, there are a variety of practical, caring things one can do to help the child. Some ideas will be presented, but common sense and caring may dictate other ideas as well.

A first step is getting education and gaining awareness of how to help abused children. Some good educational resources are this conference, Aids to Victims of Sexual Assault, Social Service programs, the Foresters, and the I.I. Unit mentioned earlier. The I.I. Unit is interested in providing speakers to a variety of community groups on various topics related to abuse. The public library also has films and books.

Another important thing to think about is to take good care of ourselves. We won't have anything to give a child in need if our "well is empty." We need to be rested, to have some relaxing and enjoyable times, and to have companionship with other adults.

When we think of the children, the most important thing is to provide a safe place for them. This can be done by:

1. Making the physical environment safe for the age children we have.
2. Avoiding physical punishment. It will either have little or no effect or it may frighten children so they will not trust the adult.
3. Having stable, caring people on staff, so children can know them and know they can be trusted.
4. Having consistent and reasonable rules, expectations, and routines. This gives children the sense of predictability which may be lacking in their lives.

Acceptance and encouragement are also very important to the abused child. These children have been rejected and discouraged by the abuser, and caring adults need to turn this attitude around. Place emphasis on actions and not on judgment of the child's worth. Try to say, "That was a good job you did," not "You are a good girl." "I don't like it when you hit John" not "I don't like you when you hit John." Don't make the acceptance and care dependent on how the child behaves. Also, sincerely praise the child at every opportunity. Recognize the improvement in a child as well as his/her accomplishments.

Maintaining and promoting open communication is another vital tool in dealing with abused children. Be a good, active, listener, including providing special times for children to talk to you alone. Also, respond to what they say, so they know you have listened. Give them the right and the power to say "No!" to any touching they don't like, and to encourage them to tell a trusted adult. Finally, give them the clear message that abuse, of any kind, is not their fault. No one "deserves" to be treated like that.

At all times we must remember to respect the child's feelings. Don't force talking, touching, or other demonstrations of trust in children. It will come, in time, when they are ready.

A last idea is to work as a helpful member of "the team." None of us is an island standing alone against the flood of child abuse. We need to work as smoothly as possible with the social workers, police, counselors, medical people: school personnel, and perhaps the most difficult of all, but the most important, the abusers. They are as much in need as the children they have abused. We can offer them friendship, a better view of their child, a role model, and a

resource for ideas on "what worked for us in that situation."

Abuse often occurs because parents or caregivers lack the knowledge, too's, and resources needed to help them develop. Providing these needs as a coordinated team effort will prevent overlap of help or gaps in help, so everyone's efforts will be more effective.

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MISCELLANEOUS LOCAL RESOURCES

Aid to Victims of Sexual Assault, 200 Ordean Building, Duluth, MN (24 hour service. Telephone: (218) 727-4353).

Duluth Public Library, 520 West Superior Street, Duluth, MN 55802.

St. Louis County Social Service Department, 320 West Second Street, Duluth, MN 55802.

STEPPING INTO STEPFAMILIES

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Families created by the remarriage of one or both spouses are among the fastest growing family types. Nearly half of current marriages are a remarriage for at least one spouse. Over 35 million adults are stepparents; the number of stepchildren has been estimated as one of every six to ten children. It is predicted that 25-35% of all children will eventually experience the role of stepchild.

This paper will present an overview of research on the uniqueness and challenges of stepfamilies. Potential ways to strengthen stepfamilies will be discussed.

Stepfamilies may resemble biological nuclear families outwardly. The first-marriage, nuclear family is the model used by many as the societal norm; other family types are sometimes considered deviant or disadvantageous by comparison. While stepfamilies do have problems to overcome, they are a family form which must be viewed as unique. They are traveling in new territory, exploring new regions of relationships and responsibilities, and doing it largely without the aid of maps or guides.

Stepfamilies are not recognized as a social institution. This is due to the role of the stepparent being poorly defined, having no preparation or legal status, and including contradictory features of both a parent and nonparent role. The diversity and complexity found in stepfamilies, which usually involves the stepparent being an addition to the birth parent rather than a replacement, results in boundary confusion. Guilt and grief over a divorce can also contribute to difficulties.

However, research findings on stepfamilies are less negative than conclusions reached by the public or clinical personnel. In general, stepchildren show more positive characteristics than children from single-parent homes in school behavior, achievement, social development and personality. No differences are found in most studies comparing children in step and first-marriage families. Likewise, research indicates there are few differences in marital satisfaction between first and remarriages, especially when appropriate controls are used.

The largely positive outlook changes when the research examines the stepparent-stepchild relationship; the studies are nearly evenly divided between reporting a good or poor relationship. In studies using standardized measures of family functioning, stepfamilies were less well-adjusted and less satisfied with their families than members of first-marriage families. This may be due to numerous factors which can impact on family functioning, such as age and sex of children, contact with noncustodial parent, parenting experience and stepfamily composition.

Since stepfamilies are a unique family type, they are faced with several challenges. Myths present obstacles to adjustment, often before the remarriage occurs. Folklore images, the instant love myth and the whole, happy family myth can result in confusion and disappointment. Complexity of relationship occurs with the addition of new family members, creating boundaries and roles that are less exact than in first marriages. Research indicates that the greater the structural complexity of the stepfamily, the higher the probability of divorce in the remarriage. Grief and loyalty pose problems in stepfamilies. Grief over loss is experienced by children and adults. Loyalty bonds to parents and growing acceptance of stepparents can produce confusion and guilt in children.

Merging lifestyles requires adaptation to habits, traditions, rules and procedures. Distribution of resources, particularly money, is a frequent cause of friction in stepfamilies. Financial management is one area which couples are reluctant to discuss prior to remarriage, yet it is one of the areas of most difficulty after remarriage.

Considering the many challenges faced by stepfamilies, professionals can assist in strengthening this family form through formal

and informal parent education. The following suggestions can be productive in improving stepfamily relationships.

Recognize the developmental tasks of remarriage as noted by Goeting (1982). Couples will need to experience an emotional, psychic, community, parental, economic, and legal remarriage. These developmental tasks should be anticipated as part of the adjustment process.

Identify characteristics of strong families that would be applicable to model in stepfamilies. Studies by Stinnett (1979) on family strengths and Curran (1983) on traits of a healthy family provide a number of factors contributing to satisfying family relationships.

Since the remarriage was created with husband-wife, keep this bond strong and primary. Children's needs can be met without letting them drive a wedge into the couple bond. The role of stepparent will play needs to be specifically defined. Current evidence (Mills, 1984) suggests more harmonious relationships occur when discipline of children is done by the birth parent.

Establish new family goals and roles. Unity is more likely to be achieved when persons are working together toward a common cause. Roles need to be flexible and suitable for particular stepfamilies.

Acknowledge stepfamilies as an acceptable and unique family form. Consider the positive aspects in discussions, helping children to feel good about their situation. In schools and child care centers, make multiple invitations or gifts as class projects, so children are not faced with a dilemma of choosing who shall receive their work. Consider financial stresses faced by stepfamilies when requiring expenditures; facilitate clothing exchanges and potluck suppers.

Recommend pre- and postmarital counseling and create support networks through organizing parenting education sessions or workshops.

Stepfamilies are a unique family form occurring more often. Professionals can encourage and support the persons involved to facilitate healthy family relationships.

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